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NCIENT AND MODERN

A HISTORY OF

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

FROM THE PERIOD OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT TO THE PRESENT TIME.

WITH APPENDIX.

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BY

THE REV. R. W. FRASER, M.A.

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PREFACE.

THE empire of the Sultan has for ages been invested with a high degree of interest. During its early progress, the mystery and vagueness of what little was known of its military organization, and the marvellous incidents which were constantly illustrating its annals, caused the nations to regard it with somewhat of the indefinite dread which aerial meteors were wont to excite. In more modern times, notwithstanding the termination of its career of conquest, the interest attached to it has become greatly enhanced by the romantic beauty of its capital, the chivalrous courage of its subjects, the important geographical position which it occupies in the centre of the ancient world, and by its having been regarded as the keystone of the arch of European politics.

The Author of the following work having for years directed his attention to the countries bordering on the

ancient Propontis, has occupied himself at intervals in collecting materials towards forming at some future period an extended history of the Ottoman Empire—embracing its origin, progress, peculiar institutions, and tendencies. Recent events, however, and the solicitations of those whose judgment he regards with deference, have induced him, in order to supply in some small degree the present acknowledged want of accessible information on the subject, to commit his manuscript to the press, without the polish and condensation which in some portions he might have been able to give it. He partially consoles himself by the reflection, that whatever has been lost by disregard of the Horatian maxim, may be more than compensated by the immediate contribution of a simple and unpretending narrative.

The incidents detailed in the earlier portion of his work he has drawn chiefly from the learned and voluminous productions of Knolles and Rycaut. For his account of more recent events, he has had access to all the most authentic sources of information.

Perhaps some apology is necessary for the orthography of Eastern names, which after some hesitation the Author has been led to adopt. The authority of the accomplished Arabic scholar Lane, who states that the opinions of Orientalists are "as five to one" in favour of the spelling given, seemed to him to decide the matter. And he cannot but think that, as our inter-

course with the East is daily increasing, the time is not distant when the correct orthography will as generally supersede what has hitherto been familiar to us, as the modern spelling of the names of places in our own country has set aside what was common in the days of the early Saxon chroniclers.

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CHAPTER I.

Relation of Mohammadanism to the course of Ottoman history—Arabia —Its extent and population—The character of the Arabs—Their habits and religion—The birth of Mohammad—His early history—His marriage with Khadija—His mercantile pursuits—His projects of religious reform—Commencement of his career as a prophet—Opposition of his relatives to his schemes—The Hejira or Flight—Mohammad commences hostilities against his opponents—The battle of Beder—Retaliation of Abu Sofian—Truce for ten years—Attack of the people of Mekkeh on Medeeneh, and victory of Mohammad's army —Submission of several of the tribes—Peace with the tribe of Koreish—Condition at this era of the Roman and Persian empires —Mohammad's ambassadors sent to the courts of Heraclius and Chosroes—Violation of the treaty of peace with the tribe of Koreish, and reduction of Mekkeh—Ultimate success of Mohammad, and striking change resulting from it—Proceedings of the Emperor Heraclius—Mohammad's pilgrimage to Mekkeh—His death.

THE influence of Mohammadanism is strikingly obvious throughout the whole course of Ottoman history. To that influence may be attributed on the one hand the fierce enthusiasm, the indomitable valour which four centuries ago hurried the warriors of the house of Othman from conquest to conquest, till they established an empire almost as wide and as powerful as that of the Saracens; while to the same cause may be traced, on the other hand, the decline of that empire in later ages, till in the present day, a state once the terror of Europe, has become dependant for its continued existence on the support or protection which other nations, from various motives, accord to it.

This is easily explained. Success may be attained in a barbarous age, by the operation of principles which, in a period of civilization, are wholly unsuited to confer prosperity.

The faith of the Muslim demands the practice of war with "the infidel" as a virtue; it makes it a religious duty to exterminate the adversaries of "the Prophet," and it appropriates to the victor the highest rewards which the most vivid oriental fancy can suggest. It encourages the fanaticism of its disciples by the doctrines of fatal necessity, and requires a blind obedience to despotic authority, to which the doctrine of fate greatly contributes. Such principles were in a rude age admirably fitted to ensure success. But they could produce no such effect at a period when national power depends not on mere personal strength, but on intellectual and moral vigour—when national prosperity springs not from despotism, but from the possession of civil and religious liberty; and when national wealth arises, not from war, but from the establishment of peace, and the mutual interchange among nations of the fruits of enterprise and industry. The doctrine of fatalism alone, which the faith of the Prophet inculcates, is subversive of all exertion and self-reliance, by making the reward of those virtues uncertain or impossible, and the restraints which it places on the social influence of the female sex, are equally effectual as a bar to moral refinement and cultivation. Thus the Ottoman empire, although by no means absolutely feeble from any want of that martial spirit by which its infancy was distinguished, is relatively weak when compared with those nations which, instead of remaining like the Mohammadans, the representatives of the religious, civil, and military polity of the thirteenth century, have obtained more or less complete emancipation from gross and degrading opinions, and are consequently making progress in the march of human intelligence and improvement. Since, therefore, Mohammadanism bears so intimate a relation to the course of Turkish history, it is requisite, to the intelligent study of that history, that we enter on a brief inquiry as to its origin, progress, and principles. For this purpose, let us direct our attention to Arabia.

This celebrated region is in dimensions almost equal to a third of the whole continent of Europe—its greatest length being nearly two thousand miles, and its greatest breadth almost thirteen hundred. But its population compared with

its extent is very small, being little more than one-third of that of Great Britain and Ireland, and this is sufficiently accounted for by the circumstance, that the increase of the human race is always proportioned to the means of subsistence, and a great part of this vast territory is unsuited to any kind of vegetation.

Many centuries after the period when the Roman empire had arrived at the zenith of her glory, and her people had attained a high degree of civilization, Arabia, although bordering on her provinces, contained a people affording an example of human society in its most primitive state. Like the aborigines of America, they were divided into innumerable independent tribes, giving allegiance to their respective chiefs, almost perpetually engaged in war with each other, and migrating from place to place as their convenience or the facility of obtaining supplies of food dictated. Their habits were extremely favourable to the growth of personal courage, intrepidity, and heroism. Pastoral life taught them the virtues of patience and activity; the perils to which their families and flocks were continually exposed, inured them to hardships, and furnished them with readiness of resource; while their predatory and nomadic habits supplied them at once with quickness of perception, expertness in the use of weapons, and extraordinary powers in enduring hunger and fatigue. Human instincts and habits, cherished and practised through a succession of generations, possess great influence in modifying national character; and thus, even the children of the wandering Bedoweens exhibited, at a very early age, and almost without training, the moral as well as physical properties of their progenitors.

With very few exceptions, no nation, how rude soever, has been known to be wholly destitute of the idea of some being or beings superior to them, and the proper objects of his worship; and the nature of those objects of belief and homage is frequently determined and always modified by the character of the country, or of the prominent phenomena of nature. The phenomena of the heavens appear with wonderful lustre in those climates, where the dense clouds of less favoured latitudes seldom obscure the atmosphere, and every night

presents to the eye the majestic vault of heaven "fretted with golden fires." The power of the sun, the gentle light of the moon, the regular movements of the planets, and the number, variety, and brilliancy of the fixed stars, are all calculated to seize on the imagination of a primitive and contemplative people, and to develope the idea of the infinite into a sentiment of religion. Hence it is not surprising that the Arabian mythology regarded the heavenly bodies as divinities, and that the wandering Bedoween worshipped the "host of heaven." This primitive form of religion known in Arabia was associated with the grossest idolatry, superstition, and cruelty. The worship of idols—the use of human sacrifices, and various mystic rites which are wholly unsuited to particular description, contributed to sink the Arabian mythology into one of the most degrading systems that ever arose from human ignorance and error.

Such was the condition of the Arabians or Saracens at the birth of Mohammad. That extraordinary person was born A.D. 571,* at Mekkeh, a small town about fifty miles from the coasts of the Red Sea. He was of the brave and illustrious tribe of Koreish; and his grandfather and great-grandfather were in succession the guardians and priests of the Kaabeh or sacred temple of Mekkeh, and distinguished by the possession of civil privileges and authority, conjoined with the sacred office they enjoyed. Arabian authors have delighted to adorn the history of this hero's infancy and childhood by relating many wonderful prodigies and portents which accompanied and which marked out the future legislator and prophet. But disregarding all such fabulous legends, we shall refer only to well-attested statements. Mohammad having been left an orphan at the age of six years, was placed under the care of his grandfather, Abdál Motalleb, and, two years after his death, under that of his uncle Abu Taleb, who brought him up to his own business, that of a merchant—taking him with him on his mercantile expeditions into Syria, and treating him with parental solicitude. Under the care of his affectionate kinsman the youthful Mohammad continued for several

* The year is uncertain; but, according to the best authorities, it was 569, 570, or 571.

years, during which time little is known of his history, beyond those statements by his Arabian biographers which are derived from mere tradition, or are the produce of imagination.

Soon after Mohammad had attained his majority, his relative Abu Taleb succeeded to the presidential dignity as priest and guardian of the Kaabeh; and as he continued to form a part of the sacerdotal family, the future prophet had abundant opportunities of becoming conversant with the mysteries and rites of the religion of his ancestors. At the age of twenty-five he formed a matrimonial alliance with Khadija, the widow of a wealthy merchant of his native city, who was probably about his own age,* and for whom he entertained a most tender and enduring affection. This marriage was highly advantageous to him, not only from Khadija's noble birth, for she was of the noble tribe of Koreish as well as himself, but from the great wealth of which he thus became the possessor. Placed by it on a level with the principal persons of the city of Mekkeh, he enjoyed the opportunity, and had the means of gratifying his ambition, by looking forward to the possession of the dignified offices which had now been for so many years held by members of his own family. From the period of this marriage, however, for many years he appears to have been engaged chiefly in the care of his family, and the pursuit of mercantile affairs. Little is related of him beyond incidents which clearly evince the mental vigour and activity with which he was endowed, and which were successfully exhibited on several occasions of difficulty in connexion with the affairs of Mekkeh and the Kaabeh. During the period in which he was thus occupied in matters of local interest and in the details of his various mercantile transactions, those sentiments of a devotional character by which he had been early impressed gained strength, and he had leisure to mature those views and form those resolutions which produced so marvellous an effect on the history of succeeding ages.

* The age of Khadija is a matter of dispute. Ockley states her age at marriage as forty-five; but the fact of her having eight children by her marriage with Mohammad renders this account clearly unfounded. Maracci's statement that she was forty-nine at her death, twenty-four years after, is probably the truth.

His mercantile pursuits rendered necessary long journeys into every part of Arabia, as well as into all the adjoining countries. These journeys gave him ample opportunity of becoming intimately acquainted with his countrymen and their superstitions. They placed him in frequent contact with Jews and Christians, with whose religious opinions he could not fail thus to become to a considerable degree conversant. The knowledge thus obtained yielded him abundant means for political and theological speculation; and it was impossible for his acute and inquiring intellect not to institute a contrast between the sublime doctrines and the holy precepts of inspiration, and the superstitions and idolatry of his native land, which was greatly to the disadvantage of the latter. In the Kaabeh at Mekkeh he beheld the concentration of the errors and follies of the national belief. That edifice was a vast temple dedicated to the innumerable idols of Arabian mythology, the effigies of whom numbered several hundreds.* The more he considered the subject, the more he became convinced of the grossness and falsity of the religious notions of his countrymen. Holding, in common with others, a firm belief in those revelations of divine truth made to the Hebrew patriarchs, in which the worship of the one God was so clearly inculcated, the debasing practices and corrupt doctrines which everywhere prevailed, seemed to him only to require to be swept away in order to the restoration of that primitive faith communicated to the progenitors of his race. He felt called to the office of a religious reformer, and perhaps, in the fervour of his patriotic enthusiasm, he believed himself designated to that office by Heaven itself—a belief without which it would be difficult to account for his subsequent success.

By the time that he arrived at the age of forty, his imagination had become entirely engrossed by this momentous project. The views he had attained, so much in advance of those of his countrymen, the contempt he felt for the idolatry and superstition everywhere prevailing, uniting with the suggestions of a fervid fancy, and with the vague prospects of an

* 360 idols were said to occupy niches in this building, and among them were those representing some of the Hebrew Patriarchs.

unbounded ambition, seemed to indicate to himself that he was an instrument raised up by the divine hand to emancipate the Saracens from their intellectual bondage, and to assert for them that rank in the scale of nations to which his acquaintance with their national character and abilities convinced him they were entitled. The feelings by which he was thus animated became intensified by being continually indulged in retirement. Imitating those Christian recluses, who, fleeing from the busy scenes of human life, passed their days in the solitudes of the desert, Mohammad retired to a cave in Mount Hara to indulge in those devotional reveries to which he was subject. The result was such as his peculiar temperament, his enthusiastic emotions, the belief into which he had wrought himself, and, it ought to be added, the effect of cerebral excitement, if not actual disease, might be expected to produce. As persons under the influence of monomania remain sane on every point but one, he united, with the possession of an acute and vigorous mind, the notion of his being a prophet inspired of God to effect the regeneration of Arabia, and the restoration of its people to the pure faith possessed by those saints who had, in the more distant ages of the world, received the truth by divine revelation.

He now began that career which terminated in the complete subjugation of Arabia. At first he communicated his imaginary revelations only to his own household, by whom they were received with the most reverential awe. The difficulties, however, which he experienced in extending his doctrines beyond the limited and partial sphere of his immediate dependents were exceedingly great. He became at once an object of the bitterest enmity of the tribe to which he belonged, and especially to that portion of it to whom belonged the immediate custody of the Kaabeh. From them, and from the people of Mekkeh generally, he met with the most rancorous opposition. He was exposed to the bitterest insult, and the keenest ridicule and sarcasm, not only from the vulgar, but the most accomplished. The ribald songs of the common people, combined with the keen satire of the poet, to cast discredit on his pretensions, the hatred of his adversaries, led them to make the utmost efforts to put him to death, as the enemy

of all that in the ancient order of things was dear and venerable. The tribe of Koreish armed against him some of their most redoubtable champions with the assassin's dagger, and the ingenuity even of his kinsmen was taxed for the means of deliverance from so dangerous an innovator. Thus denounced by his countrymen as an enemy, and pursued with the utmost virulence of hatred even by his kinsmen, Mohammad was exposed to the greatest perplexity, and the most imminent dangers. Yet, strange to say, many years had not elapsed from the time of his public appearance as a reformer, before he had acquired complete ascendency over the minds of his most powerful and formidable opponents, and they had been converted into his docile and admiring disciples.

It is not essential to our present design to detail with minuteness the proceedings of the founder of Mohammadanism. An outline of those events which ended in the complete establishment of his authority will be amply sufficient for our purpose.

Thirteen years having elapsed since Mohammad assumed his office as a prophet, he found himself, while still a resident in Mekkeh, possessed of a very considerable number of devoted followers. The Koreishites, whose enmity had now become excited to the highest degree, formed the resolution of terminating the peril to which their faith was exposed, by assassinating their common enemy. It was now requisite for Mohammad to seek safety in flight, and, leaving his devoted friend Alee to personate him, and if necessary to die in his stead, he fled from Mekkeh towards Yathreb, a town 250 miles to the north. In this flight he made a narrow escape. Pursued by the enemy, he and his companion Abubeker sought safety in a cavern amid the mountains, and the pursuers coming to the entrance of it, and finding, according to the tradition, that a spider's web was woven across it, presumed from that circumstance that the fugitives could not have entered, and turned aside to pursue them. They subsequently arrived in safety at Yathreb, the name of which was changed into Medeeneh.* This incident, which took place in A.D. 622,

* The town of Yathreb was first called from this incident, The City of the Prophet; and subsequently it was for brevity's sake, El Medeeneh, *i.e.*, The City.

began the era of "the Flight" or el-Hejira, the period from which Mohammadan history is dated.

The people of Yathreb or Medeeneh having espoused the cause of Mohammad, and many of his followers having come thither from Mekkeh, he soon found himself at the head of a considerable army. He was thus able publicly to profess and proclaim his doctrines; these he had hitherto endeavoured to propagate only by persuasion and example, but the force now at his command induced him to adopt a very different mode of obtaining proselytes. In the second year after his perilous flight from Mekkeh, he found himself in a condition to commence hostilities against those who had so pertinaciously refused to acknowledge his authority. His first act of aggression was of a kind with which many of his followers were already familiar, the plundering of a rich caravan on its way to Mekkeh. This act of spoliation, worthy of an Arabian freebooter, was almost immediately followed by another of more pretensions to notice, which is known as the battle of Beder, and of which Abulfeda furnishes the following account: "The Apostle hearing that a caravan of the Mekkens was coming home from Syria, escorted by Abu Sofian at the head of 30 men, placed a number of soldiers in ambuscade to intercept it. Abu Sofian being informed thereof by his spies, sent word immediately to Mekkeh, whereupon all the principal men, except Abu Taleb, who however sent Al Asum, son of Hesham, in his stead, marched out to his assistance, making in all 950 men, whereof 200 were cavalry. The Apostle of God went out against them with 313 men, of whom 77 were refugees from Mekkeh, and the rest were helpers from Medeeneh; they had with them only two horses and 70 camels, upon which they rode by turns. The Apostle encamped near a well called Beder, from the name of the person who was the owner of it, and had a hut made where he and Abubeker sat. As soon as the armies were in sight of each other, three champions came out from among the idolaters—Otha, son of Rabia, his brother Shaiba, and Al Walid, son of Otha; against the first of these, the prophet sent Obeidah, son of Hareth, Hamza against the second, and Alee against the third. Hamza and Alee slew each his man, and then went to

the assistance of Obeidah, and having killed his adversary, brought off Obeidah, who, however, soon after died of a wound in his foot. All this while the Apostle continued in his hut in prayer, beating his breast so violently that his cloak fell off his shoulders, and he was suddenly seized with a palpitation of the heart. Soon recovering, however, he comforted Abubeker, telling him that God's help was come. Having uttered these words, he forthwith ran out of his hut and encouraged his men, and taking a handful of dust, threw it towards the Koreishites and said, 'May their faces be confounded!' and immediately they fled. Upon the news of this defeat, Abu Taleb died of grief."

The fortunate issue of the conflict was of great importance to the Mohammadans. It served to increase their devotedness to the cause of their leader, who declared that a victory gained under numerical disadvantages so great, was to be ascribed to divine agency, and that by miraculous power the enemy had been led to believe, to their own discomfiture, that his forces were much more numerous than they were, and even that angels had been sent to fight on his side. This account was subsequently confirmed by one of the vanquished, who declared that in the midst of the fight he had been taken prisoner by a man of prodigious stature, who was evidently a supernatural being.

But the disaster proved a great discouragement to the enemies of the Prophet; and Drumia, the son of Abu'l Salat, a chief of some eminence among them, having been in Syria at the time of the battle, on returning home passed by the place where it was fought, and on beholding the wells into which the victors had cast many of the slain, among whom were some of his own relatives, was overwhelmed with grief, and poured forth his feelings in an elegy, the sentiments of which are highly poetical, and fully indicate the grief by which he was overwhelmed.

Abu Sofian, nevertheless, resolved, if possible, to retaliate upon his adversaries the injury he had thus sustained. Having collected a body of 3000 men, of whom 200 were cavalry and 700 were clad in armour, he marched against Mohammad, followed by his wife Henda—a woman of violent passions—

and a number of other females, the relatives of those who had fallen, and who stimulated the courage of the soldiers by their lamentations for the slain, and by their fierce denunciations of vengeance against their enemies. The Arabian historians furnish a minute account of the conflict which followed, and in which the army of Mohammad was signally defeated, many of the bravest warriors in it being slain, and the Prophet himself wounded.*

A truce having been agreed to for a year, Mohammad employed the interval in reducing to obedience several of the other tribes opposed to him; and not long afterwards, he sent privately to Mekkeh one of his followers, and an assistant, to endeavour to assassinate his implacable enemy Abu Sofian. This attempt was unsuccessful; but it was followed by an attack by the people of Mekkeh upon Medeeneh with an army of 10,000 men. The appearance of so great a force threw the garrison of Medeeneh into consternation; but their leader, with the courage and skill for which he was so remarkable, carefully concealed the concern he felt on the approach of a danger so great, and, instead of manifesting any sense of the great disparity between his force and that of the enemy, sallied forth with 3000 men to give them battle. The result is thus quaintly given by a learned writer—"The two armies continued facing each other for twenty days without any action except a discharge of arrows on both sides. At length some champions of the Koreishites, Amru, son of Abdud, Acrema, son of Aba Jehel, and Nawfal, son of Abdallah, coming to the ditch (behind which their adversaries were entrenched) leaped over it, and, wheeling about between the ditch and the Muslim army, challenged them to fight. Alee (one of the bravest of Mohammad's officers) readily accepted the challenge, and came forward against his uncle Amru, who said to him, 'Nephew, what a pleasure am I now going to have in killing you!' Alee replied, 'No! it is I that am to have a much greater pleasure in killing you.' Amru imme-

* Hamza, one of the most distinguished of Mohammad's officers, fell in this conflict. He was an object of bitter hatred to Abu Sofian's wife Henda. That lady, after the battle, wreaked her vengeance on the insensible body of her foe, by tearing out his liver, and eating part of it.

diately alighted, and having hamstrung his horse, advanced toward Alee, who had also dismounted, and was ready to receive him. They immediately engaged, and in turning about to flank each other raised such a dust that they could not be distinguished, only the strokes of their swords might be heard. At last the dust being laid, Alee was seen with his knee upon the breast of his adversary cutting his throat. Upon this the other two champions went back as fast as they came. Nawfal, however, on leaping the ditch, got a fall, and being overwhelmed with a shower of stones, cried out, 'I had rather die by the sword than thus!' Alee, hearing him, leaped into the ditch and despatched him. He then pursued after Acrema, and having wounded him with a spear, drove him and his companions back to the army."*

The consequence of this incident was the retreat of the enemy, which Mohammad did not fail to ascribe to miraculous agency, and thus increased at once the confidence and the fanaticism of his disciples. He took care also to improve the event, by setting forth soon after with his army against Mekkeh; but an engagement taking place between his forces and those of the enemy during the march thither, in which neither party gained the victory, a truce was concluded for ten years, on terms which could hardly fail to be advantageous to the Mohammadans.

The Arabian leader now found himself possessed of a great degree of power. Many of the tribes who had been most hostile to him had succumbed to his authority, and acknowledged those spiritual pretensions on which he had the presumption to found it. He now employed all his art to secure what he had gained. Assuming sovereign authority, and even the insignia of royalty, he united with that authority the important character of chief-priest of the faith which he had so far instituted—a character which was united with the dignity of Khaleefeh in the persons of his successors.

Mohammad now succeeded so far in subduing his ancient foes, the people of his own tribe, as to oblige them to conclude peace with him for ten years. Prior to this period he had

* Ockley's History of the Saracens.

waged perpetual war against the Jews, of whom a large number existed in Arabia. The unceasing animosity with which he persecuted them produced its natural result. The sufferers made the utmost efforts for his destruction; and on one occasion, he not only narrowly escaped being poisoned, but having partaken of food in which the poison was placed, he received, it is presumed, an injury which shortened his life.

The peace which had now been concluded with the people of Mekkeh and their active chief Abu Sofian, enabled Mohammad to devise measures conducive to the stability of his authority, and the extension of the faith of which he had hitherto been the successful founder. Desirous as much as possible to avoid proceeding to war with those powerful states whose territories bordered on Arabia, he had recourse to the gentlest means of directing their attention to the principles and doctrines he professed. It doubtless appeared to him as an important means of establishing his own dominion to obtain the conversion of the neighbouring sovereigns, for, on their professing the faith, they must necessarily acknowledge him as their superior as well as their teacher; and it would thus become their imperative duty, not only to shield him from danger, but to aid him in consolidating his power, and even in advancing his claims with those who, notwithstanding all his efforts, should still continue refractory.

Heraclius was at this period Emperor of Rome, and Chosroes II. King of Persia. The eastern world had long been distracted by the contentions between those rival potentates, and the sagacious leader of the Arabians well knew how important a matter it was to conciliate their good-will. He accordingly resolved upon the experiment, and despatched an envoy to the Court of Persia and to that of Constantinople, with letters, on which was the impression of his seal newly engraved for the purpose, and which contained the words, "Mohammad, the Apostle of God." The fate of this mission, however, was such as might have been expected from the relative position of the parties. The letters of Mohammad were abundantly presumptuous. They invited those sovereigns to whom they were addressed to embrace the faith

he professed, and acknowledge the prophetic and sovereign character which he had assumed.

The Emperor Heraclius received the envoy with respect, perused the letters which he had brought, and dismissed him with presents, paying no further attention to the extravagant request which his letters contained than was rendered necessary by the laws of politeness, and probably regarding the writer little worthy of serious attention, as the leader of some of those numerous tribes of Arabia whom the vast power of Rome could afford to regard with complete indifference. The reception, however, which Chosroes gave to the missives of the self-styled sovereign and pontiff of the Saracens differed widely from that which they had received at the hands of the successor of Constantine. Mohammad's epistle thus began: "In the name of the most merciful God, Mohammad, son of Abdallah, and Apostle of God, to Chosroes, King of Persia." No sooner had these words been read in the hearing of the Persian monarch, than he was filled with indignation. "What!" he exclaimed, "does the slave in writing to me put his own name first!" He then tore the letter to pieces without hearing its contents, and instantly wrote to his viceroy in Yemen, desiring either to restore the madman Mohammad to his senses, or to send him his head. Mohammad received intelligence of the treatment to which his communication had been subjected in a characteristic manner. When informed that his letter had been torn to pieces by the Persian King, he observed, "Even so shall Allah rend his empire into fragments."

Meantime the peace which had been made, as already observed, with the tribe of Koreish, was not destined to be preserved—that tribe having aided one of their allies against the Kozaites, who were in alliance with Mohammad. The act was regarded by that chief as an infraction of the articles of truce; and although Abu Sofian was sent from Mekkeh to mediate between Mohammad and the citizens, "the Prophet" remained inexorable. It is probable, indeed, that, now aware of his superiority, he was not sorry that an opportunity was thus afforded him of reducing Mekkeh to obedience, instead of waiting till the termination of the long period of ten years during which peace was to have been preserved. Abu

Sofian found it requisite, in order to preserve his life, to profess his faith in the mission of the Prophet, and Mohammad entered his native city in triumph.

On the conquest of Mekkeh, Mohammad's first care was to carry out the religious reformation on which he had been so long intent. "When all was quiet," says Ockley, "he went to the Kaabeh, and rode round it upon his camel seven times, and touched with his cane a corner of the black stone with great reverence. Having alighted, he went into the Kaabeh, where he found images of angels, and a figure of Abraham holding in his hand a bundle of arrows, which had been made use of for deciding things by lot. All these, as well as the 360 idols which stood on the outside of the Kaabeh, he caused to be thrown down and broken in pieces. As he entered the Kaabeh he cried with a loud voice 'Allah Acbar' seven times, turning round to all the sides of the Kaabeh. He also appointed it to be the Keblah, a place towards which the Mussulmans should turn themselves when they pray. Remounting his camel, he now rode once more seven times round the Kaabeh, and again alighting bowed himself twice before it. He next visited the well Zemzem, and from thence passed to the station of Abraham. Here he stopped a while, and ordering a pail of water to be brought from the well, he drank of it, and made the holy washings. Immediately all his followers took his example. After this Mohammad, standing at the door of the Kaabeh, made an harangue to the following effect: 'There is no other god but God, who has fulfilled his promise to his servant, and who alone has put to flight his enemies, and put under my feet everything that is visible—men, animals, goods, riches, except only the government of the Kaabeh, and the keeping of the cup for the pilgrims to drink of. As for you, O ye Koreishites, God has taken from you the pride of paganism, which caused you to worship as deities our fathers Abraham and Ishmael, though they were men descended from Adam, who was created out of the earth.'"* The efforts thus made were signally successful. Most of the people of Mekkeh adopted Mohammad's views without further hesitation, and their submission was succeeded by that of a large

* History of the Saracens.

number of different tribes in various parts of Arabia, who sent envoys to Mohammad, declaring their readiness to embrace the tenets of his religion, and to acknowledge his supremacy as their Prophet and sovereign.

Thus in less than ten years from the time of his flight from Mekkeh, Mohammad, by a course of success the most extraordinary, made himself master of nearly all Arabia. The tribes and septs into which it was divided had till now been formidable only to each other, having no common bond of union. Like the clans of ancient Caledonia, or the tribes of America, they made war on each other; but their valour and prowess were displayed on a limited field, and their mutual feuds and jealousies rendered it impossible for them to cause permanent danger to any state possessed of a large and united army. They were weak because disunited. But now, in the doctrines of their politic leader, they possessed a bond of intimate fellowship, while their acknowledgment of his supreme political jurisdiction placed them all at his command; so that if their petty disputes were not forgotten, they were absorbed by the superior influence of the authority to which they had become subjected, and the superior intensity of the zeal by which they were inspired. Mohammad thus became the leader of a most formidable host, fitted for conquest alike by their fervid enthusiasm, and by those habits which ages of violence and rapine had confirmed. Both morally and physically he wielded a force fully capable of coping with the most powerful adversaries.

The striking change which a few years had thus made in the political aspect of Arabia could not fail to attract the attention of the Emperor of Rome. Heraclius was a prince of sufficient wisdom to perceive the danger to which the empire was exposed, and of sufficient prudence to make immediate efforts to avert that danger. He had already experienced too great a degree of difficulty in his contest with the Persians, not to be alarmed at the rapid and extraordinary growth of a new power, so capable as that of Mohammad, of adding to the embarrassment under which the eastern portion of his dominions already laboured. He resolved, therefore, to crush his new enemies, and for this purpose assembled

an army in Syria. But the Arabian leader resolved, with that promptitude which characterized all his movements, to anticipate the attack by leading his hitherto almost universally victorious army against the legions of the empire.

Great preparations were accordingly made for an enterprise so much more arduous and formidable than those which had hitherto engaged the attention of the Arabian troops, and after experiencing considerable difficulty, Mohammad marched northwards with a large force. The attempt to attack the Roman army, however, was not persevered in. The Arabians had suffered greatly on their march; they called to mind the disastrous issue of a skirmish with the Romans at Muta, and the immense number of their enemies who awaited them on the frontiers of Syria, damped their ardour. Mohammad contented himself, therefore, with reducing to obedience several of those petty princes who had still withstood him, and having been successful in these minor operations, he retreated with his forces to Medeeneh, without encountering the army of the empire.

It was reserved for the successors of Mohammad to accomplish the enterprise on which he had thus projected. He was now approaching the termination of his career, and although he continued to prosecute his schemes with untiring ardour, he began to perceive that his days were numbered. Instead, therefore, of making any further attempt to carry out his designs against the Roman empire, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Mekkeh, and after great preparations, set out with an immense retinue to the sacred city.

"The Apostle of God," says Jaber, "had not made the pilgrimage for nine years, for when he conquered Mekkeh he only made a visitation. In the tenth year of the Hejira, he publicly proclaimed his intention to perform the pilgrimage, whereupon a prodigious multitude of people—some make the number near 100,000—flocked from all parts to Medeeneh. Our chief desire was to follow the Apostle and to imitate him. When he came to Dhul Holaifa, the Apostle of God prayed in the mosque there; then mounting his camel, he rode hastily to the plain Baida, where he began to praise God in the form that professes his unity, saying, 'Here I am, O God, ready to obey

thee ; thou hast no partner,' &c. When he came to the Kaabeh, he kissed the corner of the black stone when seven times round (the temple), and thence to the station of Abraham. Afterwards he went through the gate of the sons of the Madhumi, to the hill Safa, and ascending it, turned to the Kebleh and professed again the unity of God. After this profession he went down towards the hill Merwan, I following him all the way through the valley; he then ascended the hill slowly till he reached its summit, and from thence ascended Mount Arafa. It being towards the going down of the sun, he preached here till sunset; then going to Mosdalefa, between Arafa and the valley of Mena, and offered the evening prayers." Numerous sacrifices were offered on the following day, and after a variety of forms, minutely described by the Arabian biographer, the valedictory pilgrimage, as it has been called, was concluded, and Mohammad returned to Medeeneh, accompanied by his army of devotees.

This pilgrimage was the last public act of the celebrated founder of the Saracen empire. From this period his health began rapidly to decline in some measure from the effects, as it was supposed of the poison which he had tasted some years previously, after having continued for nearly two years, and with almost unabated energy, to carry out the plans of his fanatical ambition, he died at Medeeneh on the 8th of June 632, A.D., in the eleventh year of the Hejira.

CHAPTER II.

Mohammad's revelations—Outline of Mohammadanism—Superstitions of the Arabians—Progress of the Saracens—Limits of their dominions at the death of Mohammad—Abubeker the 2d Khaleefeh—Subjugation of Persia—Fall of Damascus—Omar the 3d Khaleefeh—The subjugation of Egypt by the Saracens—Destruction of the Alexandrian Library—Rapid successes of the Saracens—Causes of the progress of Mohammadanism.

FROM the period at which Mohammad entered upon his project of reforming the faith of Arabia, and subjugating the tribes to his dominion, he enforced all his instructions and sanctioned all his political and military proceedings by appealing to certain imaginary revelations which he declared he had received from heaven. He accompanied every declaration of his will, and solved every difficulty, by referring to that authority. At the period of his decease the various "revelations" on which he had founded his proceedings, and by which he had justified his own private conduct, were sufficiently numerous to constitute, when collected, a considerable volume. To this celebrated production it is requisite briefly to refer. It was designated by Mohammad by the term Al-Kur-án, a word which signifies in Arabic "the Book," and is equivalent to the term Bible, which has the same meaning. After his death the various parts of it were carefully collected, some being found in MS., and others supplied from the memories of his intimate friends; and the utmost care was taken, in the seven early editions made of the work, that each should correspond with the other, so that they are found to agree on the number of words, and even on the number of letters they contain. The contents of the Kur-án

may be divided into three general heads; 1. Precepts or directions relating either to religion, as prayers, fastings, pilgrimages; or to civil polity, as marriages, inheritances, judicatures. 2. Histories, of which some are taken from the Scriptures, falsified with fabulous and ridiculous traditions, and others wholly fiction, without the slightest foundation in fact. 3. Admonitions, such as exhortations to receive the faith, to fight for it, and to practise its precepts, prayers, and alms; promises of everlasting happiness to the obedient, dissuasives from sin, and threatenings of the punishment of hell to the unbelieving and impenitent.* Although the contents of the Kur-án may be thus arranged, the work itself is altogether incoherent, and many parts of it contradictory, and even absurd. It is however held in the highest veneration by the Mohammadans, who look upon its production as itself a miracle.

On this book, thus supposed to be of divine origin, together with the traditions of the Prophet, the agreement of his early disciples, and the decisions framed from analogy and experience, are founded the faith of El-Islam.†

An abstract of the opinions and principles thus prevalent, and constituting the foundation of faith and practice among the Mohammadans, will facilitate the reader's acquaintance with the history of the Ottoman empire.

The principal articles of the Mohammadan faith comprehend the following particulars:—

1. Belief in a Deity without beginning or end, creator and ruler of the universe, and possessed of absolute power, knowledge, glory, and perfections.

2. Belief in the Scriptures, *i.e.* the five books of Moses, the Psalms of David, the four Gospels, and the Kur-án.

* Some of the threatenings are levelled against particular members of Mohammad's own family who had vexed him by opposition to his designs.

† The word Islam signifies, according to Prideaux, the saving religion, according to Sale, resigning oneself to God, and according to Pocock, obedience to God and his Prophet. It also means the Mohammadan world.

The former are considered to be corrupted, and the Kur-ân alone to be pure, and of authority sufficient to alter, and even abrogate all other revelations whatever.

3. Belief in prophets and apostles, of whom the most distinguished are Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, and Mohammad. According to Mohammadan theology, Jesus is a prophet more excellent than any who preceded him, being born of a virgin, the Messiah, the Word of God, the Spirit proceeding from God, but not partaking of the divine nature. Mohammad, however, is considered more excellent than all his predecessors, and the last and greatest of the apostles.

4. Belief in the resurrection and future judgment, in future rewards and punishments, chiefly of a corporeal nature—that to all but the followers of Mohammad punishment will be eternal, and that they alone shall possess eternal bliss.

5. Belief in Divine predestination, both as to good and evil.

Such are the chief articles of the Mohammadan faith. The ritual and moral laws refer to the following subjects:

1. Prayer and ablutions. The ablution, which more especially precedes prayer, consists in washing the hands, mouth, nostrils, face, and arms, each three times, and then the upper part of the head, the ears, neck, and feet once. This may be done in a river, in a lake, or in the sea, or from a large tank. Prayer thus preceded by washing must be offered five times on each ordinary day, at particular periods indicated in the ritual; but other devotional services are appropriated to particular days and special occasions, on the Mohammadan Sabbath (Friday), on the two great annual festivals, on the nights of the month of Abstinence, Ramadân, on the occasion of a lunar or solar eclipse, in the time of drought, previous to a battle, during a pilgrimage, and at a funeral.

2. Alms-giving. Aid to the poor in the shape of alms is required to be given by the law to a certain amount.

3. Fasting. The duty of fasting is strictly imposed. The Muslim must, during the month of Ramadân, abstain from all indulgence of the appetites from daybreak till sunset.

4. Pilgrimage. The Muslim must perform at least once in his lifetime the pilgrimage to Mekkeh, and Mount Arafat.

In addition to these principal articles of the ritual, there are other and minor duties incumbent on the followers of the Arabian Prophet. In common with the laws of Moses, circumcision is enjoined, the distinction between clean and unclean meats pointed out, and swine's flesh and blood strictly forbidden. The use of wine and other inebriating liquors, gaming, usury, and music, are also condemned, and images and pictures are declared contrary to law.

The Mohammadan code strongly inculcates the practice of the virtues of charity, integrity, veracity, and modesty, and demands temperance and moderation, and the use of personal or domestic adornment.

The civil laws of the Mohammadan code refer to the relations arising from the constitution of the sexes; and the punishments appropriated to various kinds of offences against society. Of these laws it is not requisite to give any particular account.

The belief of the Mohammadans in various orders of intelligent beings possessing powers generally superior to man, is too remarkable to be passed over in silence. The reader is already familiar in some measure with the highly romantic notions on such subjects that are to be found in those delightful Arabian fictions, "The Thousand and One Nights." An account of the Muslim's faith on this subject will, therefore, not prove uninteresting, and will tend at the same time to exhibit the intellectual condition of the people among whom that faith prevails.

The Muslim generally believes in the existence of three distinct species of intelligent created beings—angels, which are formed of light; genii, which are created of fire; and men, which are composed of earth. Devils (Sheytáns) are held to be of the second species.

Their ideas of angels correspond in a great degree with those which are derivable from Holy Scripture. "The angels," says one of their writers, "are sanctified from carnal desires, and the disturbance of anger. They disobey not God

in what he hath commanded them, but do what they are commanded. Their food is the celebrating of his glory, their drink is the proclaiming of his holiness, their conversation is the commemoration of God, whose name be exalted, their pleasure his worship, they are created with different forms and different powers." Some of these they denominate archangels, to whom they attribute different offices. Jibreel (Gabriel) is employed in conveying revelations of the divine will, and was the instrument of Mohammad's instructions; Meekál (Michael) is the patron of the Israelites; 'Azraeel, the angel of death, by whom the summons of departure is given; and Isráfeel, the angel who shall sound the trumpet on the day of general judgment. Every believer is supposed to be attended by one or more guardian angels,* who record his actions; and there are, moreover, two angels whose duty it is to examine the dead when committed to the grave.

The belief of the Arabians in the existence of various orders of intelligent beings, in addition to those of angelic nature, is sufficiently remarkable to merit a brief notice.

Such creatures they supposed to have been formed some thousands of years before Adam—to consist, as to their bodies, of smokeless fire—and to be divided into five species, Jan, Jinn, Sheytáns, Efreets, and Márids. "It is held," says the author already quoted, "that the Jinn are ærial animals with transparent bodies, which can assume various forms. People differ in opinion respecting these beings; some consider the Jinn and Sheytáns as unruly men; some hold that God created the angels of the light of fire, and the Jinn of its flame, and the Sheytáns of its smoke; and that all these kinds of beings are invisible to man, but that they assume what forms they please, and when their forms become condensed they are visible."

The belief, so common at one time in Britain, and still so prevalent in some districts of Germany, in fairies, demons of the woods and rivers and mountains, capable of assuming various forms, and acting at one time with kindness and at another

* An opinion entertained by the Jews, and not unsupported by some passages of the New Testament, as, *e.g.*, Heb. i. 14.

with malignity, may be recognised in the faith of the followers of Mohammad as respects the beings now referred to. The Jinn, which can assume various forms, appear, according to the Muslim belief, as serpents, dogs, cats, or human beings. If good, and of the form of man, they are resplendent in beauty —if evil, proportionally hideous; and they can become invisible at pleasure, by the rapid expansion of the ærial particles of which they are composed. Many Mohammadans at the present day profess to have seen and held intercourse with them. The natural phenomena of the pillar of sand which appears during a whirlwind in the desert, and of the waterspout which arises from the same cause at sea, are attributed to a flight of evil Jinn sweeping over the surface of the desert or the deep. The mountains of Káf (which, according to the fanciful geography of the Arabians, encircle the whole earth) are understood to be the chief place of the abode of Jinn; but they are also believed to pervade the solid body of the earth, to dwell aloft in the firmament, and to select as their occasional places of resort, baths, wells, the junctures of roads, ovens, ruined houses, market places, and valleys, rivers, and seas. It is for this reason that the Arabs, when letting a bucket down into a well, or when they enter a valley on their journey, and on a variety of occasions exclaim "Permission!" in order to conciliate the goodwill of the *genius loci*.

The Mohammadans believe that benefits are conferred, and injuries inflicted upon mankind by the creatures now referred to. By means of talismans and invocations Suleyman, Ibn Daood (Solomon, son of David) compelled them to aid in the erection of the temple of Jerusalem, and in many other important works. But instances occur in which those beings are extremely troublesome, occupying deserted houses, and annoying those who attempt to reside in them, and otherwise troubling mankind in a variety of ways.

Some species of Jinn may be here referred to, a brief description of which can hardly fail to interest and amuse the reader. One is called the Ghool, and is supposed to assume the forms of various animals, to haunt sequestered places,

such as burial-grounds, and to feed on dead bodies, as well as to destroy those unwary travellers who fall into their power.

The Saaláh is another species of the Jinn which dwells in forests, and when it captures a human being makes him dance, and plays with him as a cat does with a mouse. One Arabian author declares that a man of Ispahan asserted that many beings of this kind abounded in his country; that sometimes the wolf would hunt one of them by night, and that when seized, the Saaláh would cry out, "Come to my help, for the wolf devoureth me!" but that the people, knowing it was the cry of the Jinn, would leave it to its fate. And an Arabian geographer states that there is an island in the Chinese sea inhabited wholly by those demons, who are the offspring of human beings and Jinn.

The Delhán is another sort of Jinn which inhabits islands, possesses the form of a man, and rides upon an ostrich. It devours the bodies of mariners which the waves cast ashore. But the most whimsical form which the Jinn is believed to possess is that of the Nesnás. This species resembles the half of a human being, divided by a line from the head down the middle of the face and body. It possesses, accordingly, only half a head and half a body, with one arm and one leg, on which, however, it contrives to hop with amazing agility. It is said to inhabit the woods of El Yemen, and to be endowed with the faculty of speech. One of these creatures is declared to have been captured in the south of Arabia, and that it resembled a man, but had only half a face, which was in its breast, but was furnished with a tail like that of a sheep.*

Such is a brief account of the superstition of Arabia. The reader, as already observed, will recognise them as of the same class as those which prevail so extensively in India, and, indeed, have been, and still are common to all nations in a semi-barbarous condition.

The progress of the Saracens met with no interruption from the death of their victorious leader Mohammad. The

* For a complete account of the various superstitions of the Arabs, see the very valuable notes in Lane's edition of the Thousand and One Nights.

military ardour for which he had been so distinguished animated his immediate successors, and the troops retained the enthusiasm which he had so successfully aroused.

At his death the empire of the Saracens was limited by the Arabian peninsula, for he did not live to carry out those designs of conquest which he had unquestionably formed. The Persian and the Roman empires, as already observed, had long been at war, but with very doubtful success on either side. The scenes of their hostilities lay among the rivers and mountains of Mesopotamia and Armenia; and the nature of the struggle had tended to weaken both empires, as well as to divert their attention from more immediate perils.

Mohammad, with that sagacity for which he was remarkable, had perceived the advantages presented to him by the mutual hostilities of those powerful states, but it remained to his successors to prosecute the enterprise on which he himself had resolved. Abubeker, the second Khaleefeh of the Saracens, on succeeding to the sovereignty, lost no time in carrying out the project bequeathed to him. In the year after his accession, having subdued those tribes of Arabians whom the death of Mohammad had tempted to revolt, he dispatched an army into Babylonia under Khaled, a warrior whose extreme activity and valour had gained him the title of the "Sword of God." The expedition was successful, and a series of victories and sieges at last terminated in the overthrow of the Persian empire, and served to substitute for the ancient religion of the fire-worshippers, the faith of Mohammad and his Kur-án.

While the new Khaleefeh was thus intent upon the aggrandisement of his empire to the eastward, he did not neglect the scheme of conquest which had been begun toward the north; and the same year in which he invaded the Persian dominions beheld the Arabian forces marching against the legions of Heraclius. Before the lapse of two years Damascus fell into the hands of the Mohammadans; and in seven years from the commencement of the war the rich province of Syria was wrested from the Roman sceptre, and became a constituent part of the dominions of the Saracens.

Omar, the third Khaleefeh, had succeeded Abubeker on

the day of the capture of Damascus; and after the annexation of Syria to his dominions had been completed, he directed his energies to the farther extension of the empire. The fertile plains of Egypt had long excited his avarice, and he resolved that they should speedily constitute a portion of his now widely extended dominions. The sword of the victorious Khaled no longer led the Saracen hosts; and Amrou, a soldier of equal skill and greater prudence, was sent on the important mission of subjugating the country of the Pharaohs. Success again accompanied the arms of the Saracens. The patriotism of the Egyptian troops and the valour of their leaders were of little avail against the impetuosity of Amrou and his forces, and in an incredibly brief space of time the capital of the Ptolemies submitted to the Mohammadan yoke.

Historians refer to this portion of Saracen history with deep regret. It is said that on the capture of Alexandria, Amrou appealed to the Khaleefeh as to the manner in which he should dispose of the magnificent library of the Ptolemies, in which almost a million of volumes were said to be deposited, and that Omar replied, "if the books are agreeable to the Kur-án they are superfluous, if opposed to it they are pernicious, and in either case must be destroyed." Upon this it is related that the volumes were distributed among the baths as fuel, and that such was their multitude, they supplied the furnaces for six months. This anecdote, however, is probably apocryphal. It was contrary to the Mohammadan law to destroy books which contained the name of the Deity, and the indiscriminate destruction of the Alexandrian library would have been a violation of that law, little in accordance with the character of Omar.*

In the reign of the Khaleefeh Omar the extent of the Saracenic dominions was vastly increased. Persia, Syria, Egypt, and a large portion of the coast of Africa, had successively yielded to the Mohammadan forces, and without entering

* This story has been repeated by a multitude of writers, and in several very recent publications. The reader will find some judicious and learned remarks on the subject in Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ch. li.

into minute details, it is only necessary to observe, that in less than eighty years from the death of the Prophet, the whole of the northern coast of Africa as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, and even Spain itself, were wrested from the sceptre of the Cæsars; and the territory that owned the Mohammadan sway rivalled in extent that of imperial Rome herself in the days of her greatest glory.

It is desirable here to interrupt the course of this historical sketch, briefly to inquire into the causes of the rapid progress of Mohammadanism. It is true that to furnish a full and satisfactory account of those causes is not only difficult, but perhaps even impossible, even for those who are most acquainted with the department of history to which we refer. There are, however, some causes too obvious to escape notice, which must have greatly contributed to the growth of the system.

The progress of Mohammadanism during the life of the "Prophet," and during those subsequent reigns, which beheld the dismemberment of the Roman empire, and the subjugation of other powerful states, must be traced to the union of religious fanaticism and military enterprise. Mohammad had the boldness to form a scheme of universal dominion, a scheme, of the execution of which, he had the sagacity to perceive that the state of the Roman Empire, already exhibiting unquestionable symptoms of decay and demolition, afforded no inconsiderable prospect; and it must be admitted that he summoned into existence a power far from inadequate to such a design, vast as it must be confessed to have been. The Arabians were a people of strong passions and vivid imaginations. A fierce and sanguinary temper led them to delight in scenes of rapine, and they were inured by early and long-continued habits, to all the personal toils and privations requisite to success in predatory warfare. While Mohammad excited their rapacity by holding out the prospects of conquest, he stimulated their passions, and raised their enthusiasm to the highest pitch, by making the indulgence of those passions a religious duty; and even by annexing to the immediate advantages of successful warfare the certain expectation of still higher rewards in a future state; the union of those

passions thus excited, with the physical properties and habits of the Arabians, appears to be amply sufficient to account for the wonderful feats of heroic valour, combined with savage bigotry, by which many of the leaders of the Saracen hosts were distinguished. Men, even of the highest cultivation and religious principle, when their powers are called forth by the instinct of patriotism, become great and magnanimous heroes, under the combined influences of personal courage, moral sentiment, and religious hopes. To such influences it is that history owes those brilliant names which adorn her pages, and, like that of M. Curtius, become the admiration of all time. The same principles, combined with those by which Mohammad acted on the fierce and relentless warriors whom his subtle genius had gathered to his standard, fully account for the irresistible force with which his armies overcame even their most powerful adversaries. Nor ought it to be forgotten, that notwithstanding the gross absurdities with which the Kur-án abounds, it contains much calculated to attract the attention, and impress the hearts of a people like those of Arabia, whose acquaintance with the tenets and the practice both of Jews and Christians, could hardly have failed to impress them with feelings not far from contempt, for those idolatrous rites which were peculiar to their national superstitions. That singular performance also presented to them many just and noble views of the Divine Nature, and furnished an immense variety and number of rules of life and conduct, all calculated to keep up a continual respect for their faith, and to present to them a never-failing stimulus to acts of valour and heroism for its extension.

The history of the Saracens for many ages after the death of Mohammad is replete with interest; but it is by no means requisite to enter into its details in tracing the history of the Turkish Empire. It is sufficient thus to have delineated the rise and progress of the system of religious error which distinguishes the followers of the Arabian prophet at the present day; and all that is further required, is to notice the progress of those events which preceded the establishment of the Ottoman power.

CHAPTER III.

Decline of the Saracenic power—Splendour of the Khaleefehs of Baghdad—Their patronage of literature and art—Fall of the Abbassidæ. The Seljukian Sultans—Outline of their history—The crusades Migrations of Turkish tribes toward the west—Subversion of the Seljukian power—Ortogrul and his descendants—Othoman, the founder of the Turkish power in Europe.

THE rapid degeneracy of the Saracen power within the same century in which it had arisen is a phenomenon not less remarkable than its sudden growth and expansion. The fervid enthusiasm, the earnest zeal, the all-absorbing love of military renown by which the early disciples of the Prophet were so distinguished, soon began to cool, while dissension and rebellion distracted and enfeebled the vast empire which unity of purpose and ambition had originally subdued and consolidated.

The reigns of the two immediate successors of Mohammad were remarkable for the success which accompanied the wars of the Saracens; but in succeeding reigns the degeneracy now referred to became fully manifest; the rich and fruitful plains which the Arabians acquired by conquest led them to forget those habits of personal hardihood and vigour to which that conquest was due; the countries they had vanquished conquered their victors in return, not indeed by the sword, but by a process which, if more tardy, is perhaps as sure, by furnishing them with the means of luxury and indulgence, and thus depriving them of those habits which had originally rendered them formidable.

Thirty years after the death of Mohammad, the celebrated dynasty of the Ommiades occupied the throne of the Saracens. At this period the territories which acknowledged their authority were of amazing extent, including Armenia, Mesopotamia,

and Azerbijan, Mosul, Hijaz, and Basra, Syria, Egypt, Africa, Spain, and Arabia. The Saracenic empire, however, had become too vast to be retained in the power of one family. Spain, Egypt, and Africa, were successively wrested from their grasp, and formed into distinct sovereignties, each under a Khaleefeh of its own.

Although the empire was thus divided, the Khaleefehs of Baghdad continued to reign with a splendour to which the sovereigns of the west had never attained. The reign of Haroon Er Rasheed, the fifth Khaleefeh of the race of Abbas, was peculiarly distinguished. That illustrious prince was a patron of the fine arts and of literature, and by his generous and enlightened liberality, the fame of Arabian scholarship rivalled the ancient splendour of Arabian conquest. In the reign of this monarch and in that of Al Mamoun, the seventh Khaleefeh, learning was cultivated with the utmost zeal and assiduity. Those celebrated sovereigns laid mankind under the most permanent obligations. Al Mamoun, following the example of Er Rasheed, spared no expense in the cause of learning. All those works which the philosophy and literature of Greece and Rome had given to the world were carefully procured, and men of learning were encouraged by a degree of munificence never surpassed, to take up their abode in the "City of Peace," and to devote themselves to literature and science.

Europeans are apt to forget the obligations under which the illustrious race of Abbas has laid them. Under their fostering care the writing of the Grecian philosophers and mathematicians, astronomers and poets, as well as those of the Romans, were translated into the Arabic, and as the healthful influence of those admirable productions was not confined to the East, but extended itself over all the wide dominions over which the Saracen sovereigns held their sway, the works of the classic ages, when learning was altogether lost in western Europe, were carried into Spain by the Moors, who, with a taste akin to that which constructed the Alhambra, cultivated the study of Plato and Homer, Cicero and Virgil. The Greek language indeed was not understood in Western Europe until after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, when

those learned men who fled from the city, with their libraries, awakened a taste for the language of ancient Athens. Before that period the schoolmen were under the necessity of being content with Latin translations of the Greek authors, and these translations were made not from the original Greek, but from versions which had been made under the noble patronage of the Khaleefeh of Baghdad.

It must however be observed, that if oriental despots have sometimes obtained merited distinction for one species of excellence, their history has rarely been free from the stains of those atrocious crimes which too often arise from the impulse of unbridled passion, and the exercise of uncontrolled power. The annals even of the best of the dynasty of Al Abbas are far from being free from such stains. Even the famous Haroon Er Rasheed, whose love of magnificence and chivalrous generosity, combined with the hilarity of his disposition, so charm us in those beautiful tales in which he is made to figure—the "Thousand and One Nights"—even this remarkable man was often led, on the impulse of jealous policy or violent wrath, to commit deeds which seem to stamp his character with the genuine marks of innate cruelty.

The history of the Roman Empire during its decline is in many respects similar to that of the empire of the Saracens. Domestic insurrections, together with the insults of those barbarians who penetrated into the provinces, and the various usurpations which eventually dismembered the once united dominions of the Cæsars, are found to have their counterpart on that wide theatre which acknowledged the sceptre of Baghdad, and to have produced the same effects in the one case, as they had already occasioned in the other.

Among the enemies of the Saracens were a powerful and warlike people, who inhabited Turkistan, a country on their north-eastern frontier, and with desperate valour defended it from the forces of the Khaleefeh. From time to time many of this nation fell into the hands of their enemies as prisoners of war, and were placed in a state of captivity in various parts of the empire. They were remarkable for those qualities of personal strength and valour for which the Saracens themselves had been so much distinguished before they had

been exposed to the enfeebling influences of luxury and wealth. Attracted by the qualities of these rude strangers, the Khaleefeh, presuming, with the jealousy which is inseparable from a reign of despotism and cruelty, that they would prove a valuable and faithful corps, constituted them his guards, and conferred peculiar advantages on them with a view to attach them more firmly to his own interests. Nothing could have been more injurious than this step. Instead of thus obtaining a band of devoted servants, the Khaleefehs soon discovered that their Tartar guards were disposed to dispute with them for the mastery, and that instead of having strengthened the throne by calling in the aid of those foreigners, they had made the very existence of the sovereignty of Baghdad entirely dependent upon their will, and but a very brief period elapsed before the once powerful race of Abbas became the mere puppets of the force which in an evil hour had been called into being, and before the close of a century the sovereignty of the empire conferred scarcely more than a mere honorary title. The domestic dissensions, tumults, and assassinations which marked the history of the seat of government, could not fail to extend their revolutionary influences to the distant parts of the empire. Spain and Africa had already separated from the dominions of the Khaleefeh, and now Syria, one of the earliest conquests of Mohammad's successor, threw off the yoke of Baghdad, and its example was speedily followed by Mesopotamia, Khorasan, and Persia. These reverses were accompanied by others no less disastrous, till at length the space over which the successor of the Prophet reigned, was comprehended by the city of Baghdad and its immediate territory. The decay which had thus fallen upon the race of Abbas, and the once mighty empire over which their authority extended, at length terminated in an event which might have been long foreseen. After protracting to the middle of the thirteenth century a lingering existence, permitted only by the supineness or neglect of their enemies, the princely race of the Abbassidæ ceased to exist—the last Khaleefeh Motassem having perished by the hands of conquerors as formidable to his weak and impoverished sovereignty as ever the terrible bands of his Arabian

ancestors had been to those devoted cities and nations who yielded to their arms.

From the overthrow of the dynasty of the Abbassidæ may be dated the origin of the Turkish power which arose upon the ruins of the Saracenic Empire, and whose warlike and energetic sovereigns passing into Europe eventually took possession of Constantinople, and seated themselves on the throne of the Cæsars. The Samanian dynasty is the first which history recognises, as arising on the ruins of the empire of the Saracens, and this was succeeded by the Seljukian dynasty, which in its turn was superseded by that of the Ottoman sovereigns.

Togrul Bek had for his services under Mahmoud, Sultan of Ghazna, been promoted to the governorship of Khorasan. Possessed of so great an amount of power, and profiting by the disturbances of the period, he soon threw off his allegiance, and assumed, notwithstanding the opposition he encountered, the title and authority of Sultan. This event occurred during the reign of the 26th Khaleefeh Al Kaim; and Togrul having espoused his cause, and secured him on the throne of Baghdad, obtained for himself the office of Emir El Omrah, a post of authority greatly superior to that of the Khaleefeh himself. Togrul Bek was the grandson of Seljuk, a Turk of the tribe of Khozar on the Caspian, and founder of the Seljukian dynasty. He had adopted the Mohammadan faith, and established his capital at Rhages in Media; but dying soon after his accession to the office of Emir El Omrah, his sovereignty descended to his nephew Alp-Arslan, under whom, and under whose son and successor Jelal-ed-deen, his dominions were greatly extended. But while the elder branch of the Seljukian family were, thus established at Rhages, a second branch of it possessed the southern province of Persia, and a third had made themselves masters of those portions of Asia Minor which had pertained to the Greek empire, and to which the name of Rûm (*i.e.*, country of the Romans) was applied in the language of the East. Here, favoured by the aid of the elder branch of the family Malek Shah, the Seljukians of Rûm established an independent kingdom, and during the disorders of the empire of the

Constantines, occasioned by rival contentions for the throne of Constantinople, made themselves masters of the Asiatic cities and the fortified passes to the east, which alone formed the barrier between them and European conquest. Having wrested from the Emperor Alexis Comnenus the city of Nicæa in Bithynia, Solieman Ben Kothumish compelled his reluctant enemy to acknowledge him as the master of the greater part of Asia Minor.

It was at this juncture that the first of those expeditions took place, which, from the objects of them, are termed the Crusades, the incidents of which constitute so interesting and remarkable a portion of European history. Incited by the eloquence of Peter the Hermit, the greatest warriors of western Europe girded on their armour, and, forgetting the claims of their own territories, casting aside the tenderest ties of kindred and society, set forth on their chivalrous and romantic expedition to the Holy Land. The Emperor Alexis Comnenus, placed in jeopardy by the Seljukian Sultan, and smarting under the loss of his fair territories in Asia, sought the aid of those enthusiastic adventurers who now swarmed towards the coast of Syria. Nor did he solicit their aid in vain. By their means the Turkish armies were entirely defeated. Nice, the city in which Solieman had chosen as the seat of his government, reverted to her former masters, together with all the fortresses on the shores of the Ægean, the defiles of Bithynia, and the whole coast of the Black Sea and Mediterranean.

The Seljukian dynasty continued to exist for more than a century from the death of its founder, after having terminated the political power of the Khaleefehs of Baghdad, and subdivided their territories into separate sovereignties. But the fate which they had been instrumental in inflicting upon others awaited themselves. The example they had themselves given of a Tartar nation exchanging the plains around the Caspian for the rich and fertile valleys of Persia and Syria, was not lost upon those barbarians with whom they claimed kindred. The Karismians, the inhabitants of a district between the Caspian Sea and the Lower Oxus, taking advantage of the declension of the Turkish power in Persia, mi-

grated southwards, and having established their dominion on the ruins of their predecessors, placed the sovereignty of Rûm in imminent peril.

The incursion of the Karismians, however, was only the precursor of a migration to which, in magnitude and extent, no preceding event of a similar kind can bear comparison. Early in the twelfth century the Mongols or Chinese Tartars, a race more fierce and barbarous than those who had been their pioneers, poured forth from those vast plains on which they had so long dwelt, and, like a resistless inundation, swept away all opposition. Led by a warrior thoroughly fitted for such exploits, hundreds of thousands of those wild barbarians, like swarms of locusts, brought ruin and desolation on the finest provinces of Asia. Among other states which were overwhelmed by them, were the Seljukian dynasties of Syria and Iconium.

On the final subversion of the Sultan's power in Iconium or Rûm, many of the Turks sought safety in the mountainous districts of the country, and formed minor principalities, levying contributions alternately on the territories of their ancient foes of the Greek empire, and those of their new conquerors the Mongols. Among these was Ortogrul, the head of a Turkish tribe originally from Scythia, who having first settled in Armenia, subsequently marched westwards to the aid of the Seljukian Sultan Aladdeen, and vainly endeavoured to oppose the torrent of his Mongolian invaders.

The Mongol power having annihilated the sovereignty of the Seljukians, left the path open to the ambition of Ortogrul and his descendants, and at the death of that warrior the Oguzian tribe, over whom he had ruled for more than half a century, chose his brother as his successor; but on his declining to accept the post of dignity thus offered him, the choice fell on Othoman, the son of Ortogrul. From the name of this chief the term Ottoman is derived, and he may be justly considered as the founder of the Turkish power in Europe.

CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1289–1390.

Othoman, founder of the Turkish Empire—His early history—Jealousy of the other chiefs—They attempt his destruction—He averts the danger—His increase of territory—Assumes regal power—His death—Succeeded by his son Orcan—His successes—Solyman his son—Passes into Europe—His premature death—Amurath I.—His European conquests—Institution of the Janizaries—Death of Amurath Accession of Bajazet I.

THE preceding outline brings us to the commencement of the fourteenth century. When Othoman was elected chief of the Oguzian tribe of Turks, although he was held in high esteem for his personal qualities by his immediate followers, his power and authority were circumscribed by a very limited circle. Most of his dependents were, like the Scythian nomades, engaged in pastoral occupations, and the new chief himself lived in that homely and simple style which historians attribute to Romulus or Cincinnatus.

The high qualities he possessed soon proved the wisdom of his uncle in resigning the leadership of the tribe in his favour, and the wisdom of the tribe itself in raising him to that dignity. Othoman was not only a man of daring courage and great personal activity and vigour, but endowed with intellectual qualities of no ordinary kind. Although extremely ambitious, he was wise and politic, and not only possessed the greatest sagacity in emergencies of peril or difficulty, but the utmost decision and perseverance in carrying out those designs which he had first carefully arranged and matured; with these qualities were united the most generous liberality to all his retainers, and, possessed of such qualities, and as a natural consequence of the perfect confidence of his followers, oppor-

tunities alone were requisite to the certain and rapid extension of his power.

Such opportunities were not long wanting. Quarrels between his herdsmen and those of the neighbouring chieftains soon brought his warlike qualifications into requisition, and the feuds of his neighbour chieftains themselves enabled him, by becoming the ally of one party or the other, to carry out the objects of his own personal ambition. Before a year had elapsed after his elevation, he had greatly increased his territory, and became possessed of more than one of the strongholds of his foes.

He soon attained so great a degree of superiority, that he became an object of jealousy to the other chiefs, who had sufficient wisdom to perceive that the rapid growth of his power must necessarily endanger their own. He was too formidable, however, to be openly opposed without great hazard; various stratagems therefore were entered into for his destruction. An account of one of these can hardly fail to prove interesting to the reader.

Michael Cossi, a devoted friend of Othoman, and a chief of some consequence, having invited a number of his most influential neighbours to celebrate his daughter's bridal, was resolved to embrace the opportunity thus afforded of placing them on better and more friendly terms with a chief possessed of so much power as Othoman. He therefore invited Othoman to the festival, who cheerfully accepted the invitation, and brought to the castle of his friend Cossi a valuable gift for the newly wedded pair. The generous liberality which the Oguzian chief thus exhibited, only aggravated the jealousy and increased the envy of his rivals; and they resolved upon his destruction. In order to the accomplishment of this object, one of the chiefs stated to Othoman that he intended to celebrate his marriage, and invited him to the bridal feast, stating to him the time when it should take place. Presuming, however, that Cossi, at the marriage of whose daughter Othoman had been present, could be safely trusted with the knowledge of their design, and employed to forward it, he engaged him to secure the attendance on the occasion of the unsuspecting object of their treachery. Cossi took upon him

the mission, and proceeded to the castle of Othoman, to whom he presented some silver plate which had been provided by the conspirators, and whom he found prepared to attend the bridal festival to which he had been already invited. Cossi, however, repenting of his purpose — if indeed he had ever really intended to betray his friend—informed him of the design against his life, and arrangements were immediately entered into to provide against the threatened danger.

The chief who planned the scheme intended to issue in the destruction of Othoman possessed a stronghold called Bilezuga, on the confines of Bithynia. It had been the custom of the herdsmen and others who were the dependents of Othoman in passing this castle to take refuge with their goods and cattle under its protection during night, and their women were allowed to enter for security within the walls. Of this arrangement Othoman took advantage. Having stated to the chief of Bilezuga that he intended to absent himself from his own fortress after his visit to the marriage feast, he obtained permission to place the females of his family and a quantity of valuable merchandise in the castle during his absence. He then filled up the packs apparently containing goods with armed men, and disguised a number of soldiers in female attire, and having sent them for admission to the castle, set forth to the marriage feast, which was to be celebrated at a few miles' distance. After remaining at the banquet long enough to give his retainers an opportunity of surprising the fortress, Othoman suddenly sprung into his saddle, and with the few followers he had with him rode off in the direction of Bilezuga. He found his stratagem to have succeeded, his men having seized upon the fortress; and his treacherous friend, its owner, fell beneath the scymitar of Othoman, who thus became undisputed owner of his castle and territory.

This success led to others, and in the course of a very short period Othoman had gained possession of almost every stronghold throughout Phrygia, together with the city of Nice, and many other places of importance in Asia Minor, so that before the lapse of ten years after the death of his father Ortogrúl, he found himself possessed of great power. The kindness of the Sultan Ala-ed-Deen of Iconium had hitherto

rendered Othoman unwilling to assume the title of king, but his death, which now took place, removed all such obstacles, and Othoman was saluted as Sultan.

On assuming regal authority, Othoman demonstrated that the example of the founder of the Saracen empire, and the Mohammadan superstition, was not lost upon him. He proclaimed that he had a divine mission to propagate and render triumphant the doctrines of Islam. Enforcing the views of the Kur-án, he excited the fanaticism and the valour of his troops by setting before them the future rewards of victory in its cause, and by rewarding his soldiers with lands, promotion, and various privileges, he attached them by the strongest ties to himself and his cause, and obtained from them a blind and implicit obedience to all his commands. At his death, A.D. 1326, his influence had so vastly increased, as to render it obvious that, had he lived, he might with little effort have subjugated the most powerful states to the east and west. "Othoman," says Knolles, "was wise, politic, valiant, and fortunate, but full of dissimulation, and ambitious above measure, not rash in his attempts, and yet very resolute; what he took in hand he commonly brought to good effect; to all men he was bountiful and liberal, but especially to his men of war, and the poor, whom he would many times feed and clothe with his own hands. Of a poor lordship, he left a great kingdom, having subdued a great part of Lesser Asia, and is worthily accounted the first founder of the Turk's great kingdom and empire. Of him the Turkish kings and emperors have ever since been called the Othoman kings and emperors, as lineally of him descended, and the Turks themselves Osmanidæ, as the people or subjects of Othoman or Osman." *

Othoman left two sons, Orcan and Ala-ed-Deen, and the former of whom being the elder, was chosen by an assembly of the principal officers of the state as his successor. This prince, who possessed much of the warlike genius of his father, soon found himself fully occupied. The Greek Emperor, taking the opportunity afforded by the temporary confusion consequent on the death of Othoman, crossed with his forces into Asia Minor, to relieve the city of Nice, and, if possible,

* Knolles, vol. i. p. 123.

to regain part of the territory already wrested from him. But nothing could have been more disastrous to the Greeks, than the result of this unhappy expedition. The army of Andronicus consisted of 2000 cavalry, who were well appointed, but the rest of his soldiers were for the most part artificers from Constantinople, whom he had pressed into his service, and who were entirely unfit for the difficult duty to which they were thus called. In a conflict with a portion of the army of Orcan, the Emperor was wounded with an arrow, and having retired to get his wound dressed, his troops supposed he had fled, were seized with a panic, and, throwing down their arms, they escaped to their boats, leaving their tents and baggage behind them, all of which fell into the hands of the Sultan; and Andronicus himself found it necessary to sail to Constantinople, relinquishing his enterprize. The fortresses and cities he had come to succour, soon fell into his enemy's hands. Nice alone held out against them, but this important city was soon added by means of a stratagem, to the number of their conquests. The citizens had continued successfully to resist every attack, in the expectation that a promised succour of 1000 men would be sent from Constantinople. The Sultan became aware of this, and contrived to turn the expectations of the people of Nice to their own destruction. He caused 800 men to be disguised as Constantinopolitan soldiers, and to approach the city as if coming directly to its aid. He had arranged further, that this force of pretended friends should attack a body of 300 men, who were ravaging the country, and that they should appear to be defeated in the vicinity of the city. The citizens beheld with transport, from the walls, the fight which took place between the pretended enemies; and when the victors, whom they supposed to be the soldiers of Andronicus, approached, the city gates were thrown open to them, and they speedily made themselves masters of it. The Turkish Sultan gave up the city to his troops as their plunder, and sent the citizens into captivity.

The reduction of this important place was followed by the seizure of many fortresses and towns, and among these, the Castle of Abydos, a place of great strength, which they had

in vain endeavoured to seize upon, were it not for a romantic affection which the daughter of the governor conceived for one of the leaders of the enemy's forces. Thus, partly by artifice, and partly by force of arms, Orcan became master of Anatolia, and the eastern shores of the Hellespont, and nothing now formed an impediment to conquests in Europe, but the narrow strait which divided the Greek territories from his own.

The opportunity of extending his power beyond the Bosphorus was not long wanting. The Sultan had a son named Solyman, who participated in his father's desire for further conquests, and especially to plant the Mohammadan faith in those countries of Europe possessed by the Christians. It is said that this adventurous prince, while visiting with a few followers the site of ancient Troy, formed the resolution of passing into Europe. One of his officers perceiving him abstracted and silent, inquired the cause. "The truth is," replied Solyman, "I have been thinking how it were possible to pass over this sea into Europe, and, having made some observations, to return undiscovered." Two of his followers immediately assured him that nothing could be more easily accomplished, and they undertook to make the necessary arrangements for the enterprise. Procuring a boat, they passed over by night to the opposite shore, and landed in the neighbourhood of a castle called Zemenic,* and quietly seized upon a Greek, whom they discovered early in the morning working in his vineyard. This man they carried back with them, and presented him to Solyman; who, by gratifying his avarice with rich presents, contrived to obtain all the information he required, and particularly as to the means of taking the fortress in the vicinity of the captive's abode. The result was, that having procured boats, Solyman passed over with 80 men, and easily possessed himself of the castle; to which he immediately brought over from Asia a considerable force, which enabled him to add another fortress to his new acquisition in Europe. The supineness of the Greeks at this momentous juncture is truly remarkable. They could not have been ignorant of the daring and restless characters of

* By the Greeks, Koiridocastron, or Hogs' Castle.

the invaders, yet not only was no effort whatever made by them to repel their incursions on the Greek territories, but their successes were made a subject of jest at Constantinople. "Such," says Knolles, "was the careless negligence and security of the proud Greeks, that, instead of taking up arms, and driving their barbarous enemies out of Europe, they, to extenuate the greatness of the loss commonly said, (alluding to the name of the castle), 'that there was a hogsty lost'; and when the important city and castle of Gallipoli was seized upon, they in like manner treated it as a jest, and in reference to the vineyards of the district, said, that the 'Turks had now taken from them only a pottle of wine.'" "But," adds the annalist, "by taking of such hogsties and pottles of wine, the Turks in a few years after had gone so far in Thracia, that Amurath, even in the heart of the Greek empire, placed his royal seat at Hadrianople, and Bajazet his son, for certain years, laid hard siege to the imperial city itself, and had no doubt carried it, had not the great expedition of the mighty Prince Tamerlane in the meantime happened."

Solyman, however, did not live to pursue the ambitious designs he had formed. He was killed A.D. 1359 by a fall from his horse, the year after the taking of Gallipoli, and his father Orcan soon after died of age and grief. Although, like his predecessors, the mortal enemy of Christianity, this prince possessed a high reputation. "He was," says the author already quoted, "wise, courteous, and bountiful. He built divers princelie churches, abbies, colledges, and cells, and was in his superstition verie zealous."

Amurath, the younger son of Orcan, now ascended the throne. From the earliest period of his reign, he resolved to accomplish those ambitious projects, on which his brother Solyman had already entered, and which he readily perceived that it was by no means difficult to complete. He was, however, at first interrupted in this design, by a combination of the Mohammadan princes in Asia, and the first year of his reign was occupied in a campaign against their united forces.

No sooner had he compelled them to acknowledge his superiority, than he turned his arms against Europe, and having passed over to Gallipoli with a powerful army, he

seized upon several of the most important places in Thrace, and terminated in 1362 a series of victories, with the reduction of the rich and important city of Hadrianople; in which, after erecting a palace, and a spacious mosque, he fixed the seat of his government.

Having thus in a great measure accomplished the project to which his immediate predecessors had so earnestly directed their attention, the Sultan, considering the great inconvenience arising from the state of his army, resolved to institute a force which should be wholly dependent on himself, and should be kept permanently under arms. In order to effect this purpose, Amurath ordained that every fifth captive taken in Europe, instead of being transported into Asia, should be brought to Hadrianople, and on embracing Islamism, be enrolled in the new corps, placed on permanent pay, and distinguished by privileges calculated to secure his fidelity to the Mohammadan cause. In this manner Amurath speedily raised a force of 10,000 infantry, which was regularly organised under officers of different ranks, at the head of whom was a commander-in-chief called the Aga. The troops thus formed were called Janizaries, or new soldiers.* The important part they occupied on the theatre of modern history is well known. The Saracen Khaleefehs of Baghdad had had recourse to the same expedient to prop up their failing authority in the East, and it had proved fatal to the power to which it had its birth. For many ages subsequent to their institution, the Janizaries exercised a most despotic influence over the features of the Ottoman Emperor, who was indeed placed by those fierce and turbulent troops under a despotism scarcely less absolute than that which they themselves exercised over their subjects.

Without furnishing in minute detail an account of the exploits of this potentate, it will be sufficient to observe that his reign exhibits the rapid decline of the Greek Empire, which by successive losses of territory was at last confined to the imperial city of Constantinople, and part of Thrace and Bulgaria.

The last battle fought by Amurath was against a formi-

* From a corruption of the words Enghi, *new*, and Cheri, *soldiers*.

dable confederacy of the Sclavonic tribes, who had resolved to make a last stand against the common dangers with which they were threatened. The struggle thus originating may justly be said to be that of Christendom itself against Mohammadanism; for a vast multitude of warriors from Hungary and Italy, as well as those provinces which now constitute portions of the Turkish dominions, had united together against their common foe, and the army thus confederated is said to have amounted to nearly half a million of men.

The army of the Sultan was greatly inferior to this immense force; and as he marched into Servia to give them battle, and obtained from a distant hill a view of the hosts of his enemies, who completely covered the plains below to a great distance, the fierce conqueror is said to have been daunted by the view, and to have almost resolved to decline the engagement. From such a resolution, however, he was diverted by the counsel of his own chiefs.

Historians vie with each other in describing the terrible conflict which ensued. The Christian forces were well appointed, as well as numerous, and in the earlier part of the fight had the advantage of their adversaries; but the impetuosity of the Ottoman forces led by Bajazet, the Sultan's son, at length turned the fortune of the day, and the confederate army was routed with dreadful slaughter.

This event took place in 1390; but Amurath did not survive to enjoy this decisive victory. When the battle was over, he alighted from his horse, and, accompanied by his officers, walked over the field, which was covered with multitudes of the dead and dying. As he was thus employed, a wounded soldier, recognising the enemy of his country and his faith, dragged himself toward him, and inflicted on him a wound which he survived but two hours.*

* The following graphic account of the incident is given by Knolles:— "A christian soldier, sore wounded, and all bloody, seeing Amurath, in a staggering manner arose, as if it had been from death, out of a heap of slain men, and making towards him, for want of strength fell down divers times by the way as he came, as if he had been a drunken man. At length, drawing nigh unto him, when they which guarded the King's person would have stayed him, he was by Amurath himself commanded to come nearer, supposing that he would have craved his life of him.

Bajazet now succeeded to the throne, signalizing his accession by an act henceforth frequently recorded in the blood-stained annals of the Ottoman Sultans, the putting to death of the next heir to his father's sovereignty. Sending for his younger brother before that prince was aware of Amurath's death, he had him strangled in his presence. Thus Bajazet commenced his career of bloodshed by the inhuman crime of fratricide, and left an example which succeeding emperors were not slow to imitate.

Thus the half-dead christian pressing near unto him, as if he would for honour's sake have kissed his feet, suddenly stabbed him in the bottom of his belly with a short dagger which he had under his soldier's coat; of which wound the great king and conqueror presently died. The name of this man, for his courage, worthy of eternal memory, was Miles Cobelitz, who, before sore wounded, was shortly afterwards in the presence of Bajazet cut into small pieces."

CHAPTER V.

1390—1450.

Bajazet I., surnamed Ilderim—His character and conquests—Besieges Constantinople—Raises the siege—Incursion of the Mongols—Tamerlane—Bajazet defeated—His death—Mohammad I. ascends the Ottoman throne—The false Mustafa—His defeat—Death of Mohammad—Accession of Amurath II.—Defeat of the Pretender—Danger of Constantinople—The Greek Emperor's device to ward off the peril—Siege of Thessalonica—State of Hungary—Siege of Belgrade—Huniades and Scanderbeg—Abdication of Amurath—His recall to public life—The Battle of Varna—Death of Amurath II.

BAJAZET possessed a fierce and violent temper, and on that account as well as the rapidity and energy of his military movements, he was surnamed Ilderim or The Lightning. Nor were there wanting other reasons which entitled this emperor to such an appellation, for wherever he led his forces he spread ruin and desolation.

In the first year of his reign, Bajazet invaded Servia, the silver mines of which excited his avarice, and with remorseless cruelty laid waste a large portion of the country, exhibiting a total disregard of his most solemn assurances, and when the inhabitants of the cities which he besieged trusted to his word for their safety, on quitting their walls he delivered them over to indiscriminate slaughter. After overrunning Servia, he marched into Bosnia, which he speedily reduced to submission. He then turned his arms against the countries beyond the Danube, and after seizing upon Widdin, a strongly fortified city on the south bank of that river, crossed into Wallachia, which he wasted with fire and sword, returning at the end of the campaign laden with spoil to Hadrianople.

This fierce and remorseless conqueror well merited the title of "The Lightning." The year after the conclusion of the

Wallachian expedition, beheld him in Asia Minor conducting with irresistible energy the siege of Philadelphia, the strongest city in Lydia, and now the only possession of the Greek Emperor in Asia Minor. The city soon fell into his hands, the inhabitants were mercilessly put to the sword, and Christianity gave place to Mohammadanism, and the churches of a city so celebrated in the early history of Christianity became the temples of "the Prophet." Bajazet, however, was soon under the necessity of returning into Europe, which he did with his usual rapidity of motion and decision of character, and passing into Moldavia, he laid the country waste, defeating Stephen the king in battle, and indulging his cruel and sanguinary disposition by slaughtering the inhabitants and burning their towns and villages. Having satisfied himself by the reduction of that fertile province, the conqueror directed his march towards Hungary, for the purpose of attacking the forces of Sigismund. Instead, however, of prosecuting this design, he retraced his steps, and resolved to complete the subjugation of his European territories by the capture of Constantinople.

The situation of the magnificent city of Constantinople, so long the favourite abode of the Emperors of Rome, was at that period, when the powers of artillery were unknown, such as rendered it all but impregnable. Seated on a promontory, it was accessible on one side only by land, and everywhere it was surrounded by lofty walls. If completely garrisoned and provisioned, it was capable, indeed, of holding out against the most overwhelming force for a great length of time. Bajazet had long determined on the reduction of this most important place, and now, instead of pursuing his course of victory on places remote from the seat of his government, he resolved to make a vigorous effort to add the city of the Cæsars to the list of his conquests. Accordingly, he invested Constantinople by sea and land with an immense army, and everything seemed to point to the speedy annihilation of the poor remnant of the once mighty empire of Rome. But the moment pregnant with the fate of the city had not yet arrived. Sigismund, king of Hungary, accompanied by an immense force, advanced to the aid of the Greek Emperor Manuel. The Hungarian force thus

opportunely arrived to succour the imperial city, was composed of many gallant warriors from almost every part of Europe, animated by a common desire to avenge on the Turkish tyrant the incalculable miseries he had inflicted on others. The army of the Sultan was considerably inferior in numbers to that of Sigismund, but his soldiers had been accustomed to victory, and it must be admitted that their leader was not less skilful in military tactics than fierce and ruthless in character. The battle that ensued terminated in the total defeat of the Hungarian forces, and the destruction of a devoted band of knights and nobles, who obstinately continued the contest after the battle was irretrievably lost, and having been taken prisoners, were, with a few exceptions, beheaded in the presence of their conqueror. Sigismund himself escaped with difficulty from the fatal field, and crossed the Danube by night. He afterwards took refuge in Constantinople, and thence fled to Rhodes, and it was only after eighteen months of the utmost peril and suffering that he regained his dominions, in time to prevent his rival Vladislaus from taking possession of his throne.

The defeat of Sigismund, which took place in 1395, afforded Bajazet leisure to prosecute the siege of the imperial city, which circumstances seemed now to point out as an easy prey. The Emperor Manuel was opposed by his nephew John Palæologus in the possession of his sovereignty, and John, soliciting the aid of the Sultan against his uncle, cut off the supplies of provisions, and rendered it impossible for the emperor to hold out. In these desperate circumstances, Manuel resolved to surrender his capital to his nephew, and John became invested with the almost nominal title of Emperor of the East. It had been arranged between Bajazet and the new sovereign of Constantinople that the imperial city should be delivered up to the Sultan, on the condition that John should possess the undisputed sovereignty of those portions of the Morea yet remaining as part of the dominions of the Grecian Emperors; but, once possessed of the capital, John refused to fulfil the arrangement, and his powerful adversary once more prepared an armament to whose assaults the time honoured abode of the Constantines must soon have yielded, had not the attention of Bajazet been demanded elsewhere. He hastened therefore to engage

a new and powerful foe, obviously supposing it equally possible to seize on Constantinople at any future period.

Among the phenomena exhibited by the history of the human race, there is not one more remarkable than the incursions of the barbarian tribes of the north of Europe and of central Asia, on the domains of civilization in the south. Forced by the necessity of subsistence, or by the impulse communicated by an able and ambitious leader, the vast masses of mankind existing in a primitive state of society, with imperfect laws, ignorant of agriculture, and having no fixed places of abode, have at various periods poured like a torrent on the fertile plains of the south. The first of these migrations is that of the Goths and Huns in the fourth and fifth centuries, when the Roman empire was dismembered by their leaders, and their conquests extended from the frontiers of Scythia to the shores of the Atlantic. The second, inferior in numbers to the first, took place in the tenth century, and reached to the southern provinces of Gaul and the shores of the Mediterranean. The third was the incursion of the Mongol tribes referred to in a preceding chapter, by which the Persian and Saracen empire was overrun, and the vast territory to the north of the Danube placed under the dominion of the Tartars. Another visitation of a similar kind now threatened Europe. Timour, the Mongol sovereign, surnamed Tamerlane, had by a series of unexampled successes extended his immense empire from the heart of Hindostan to Syria, and now in his old age, impelled by the restlessness of ambition, and by jealousy of the growing power of the Ottoman Sultans, resolved to extend his dominions into Europe. To this course too he was impelled by the solicitations of those exiles, who, having been deprived of their dominions by Bajazet, had fled to Samarcand, and sought the great conqueror's aid and hospitality. Many of those exiles were persons of high rank, and had escaped with the utmost difficulty from the grasp of the Turkish conqueror. One of them, Prince Germain Ogli, with his counsellor, Hissar Beg, having escaped from prison, gradually made his way out of the dominions of Bajazet in the disguise of a strolling player; the prince of Mentesia effected his escape in the habit of a hermit with head and beard shaven; Aidin

Ogli evaded the vigilance of Bajazet by passing through the country as a pedlar loaded with his pack; and Prince Tachretin escaped in the disguise of a valet. All these distinguished persons, and many others of noble rank, found their way to Samarcand, and threw themselves upon the compassion of the Mongol conqueror.

It is probable their representations had a considerable effect upon the warlike Khan, but he was finally determined to make war upon Bajazet by the contemptuous style in which that emperor addressed him; and at last, having made the requisite preparations for an expedition against so powerful an adversary, Timour marched westwards with a prodigious force.

In 1401, he directed his march towards Syria, in which country, overthrowing all opposition, he reduced to ruins all the most famous cities, and among others Damascus, formerly the seat of government under the Saracen Khaleefehs. Having laid Aleppo in ruins, Tamerlane marched towards the dominions of the Ottoman Emperor with an army of 800,000 horse and foot, and Bajazet, with his usual intrepidity, did not hesitate to meet him with half the number. There is no instance in history in which two armies of such magnitude and so thoroughly efficient have been opposed to each other, or in which, if we except the field of Waterloo, two generals of greater genius or more warlike talent commanded the opposing forces. Bajazet and Tamerlane possessed equally great experience and tact in manœuvring and marshalling great masses of men; both had been equally successful in their military enterprises, and their forces had never been subjected to defeat. Without the slightest hesitation, Bajazet hastened forward to meet his adversary, and, in the course of the evening, formed in battle array in sight of the enemy. The night which followed was occupied by the two great warriors in preparation for the ensuing conflict, and early in the morning the battle began. On the part of the Turks, the Janizaries fought with their accustomed valour and impetuosity; but in the heat of the battle the Turkish forces were disheartened by the desertion, to the Tartars, of the troops of Anatolia, who had been cor-

rupted by Timour. The vast number, also, of fresh troops which Timour kept in reserve, rendered nugatory the greatest efforts of Bajazet, and the fate of the day was speedily decided. Mustafa, the eldest son of Bajazet, fell in the battle, and the latter, despairing of success in the unequal struggle, commanded his vizier to escape with his second son Solyman, while he himself continued a fierce, but unavailing resistance against the overpowering forces of his enemy. The battle lasted from daybreak to nightfall, and terminated in a complete victory. Bajazet fell into the hands of the conqueror, and although first treated with courtesy, was at last subjected to a cruel and humiliating bondage, which he did not survive more than a few months.* The consequences of this defeat were, as might be presumed, favourable to the Greek Emperor. Had Bajazet defeated Tamerlane, the fate of Constantinople would have been no longer delayed; but the anarchy which now interrupted the progress of the Ottoman power in Europe preserved the wreck of the Greek Empire for half a century longer.

It is remarkable that Tamerlane, whose desire of conquest seemed insatiable, did not follow up the splendid victory he had achieved by establishing himself in the European territories of his fallen enemy. Instead of this, he contented himself with restoring to the Muslim princes the dominions of which Bajazet had deprived them. He gave to Musa the remnant of his father's dominions in Asia; placed Solyman in the sovereignty of Roumelia; and, having exacted from the Greek Emperor the tribute he had already agreed to pay to Bajazet, returned to Samercand, after a campaign of five years, laden with the spoils of the west.

The ten years which followed the defeat and death of the tyrant Bajazet beheld the Ottoman dominions distracted by the pretensions of rivals to the vacant throne, till A.D. 1413 Mohammad, the youngest son of Bajazet, assumed the Ottoman sceptre, and by consolidating his possessions and establishing

* Bajazet is by some authors stated to have been confined in an iron cage by his conqueror Timour; but there are good reasons for doubting this account.

his authority throughout the Asiatic and European dominions of his predecessors, merited the title of the second founder of the Ottoman empire. As already stated, Mustafa, the eldest son of Bajazet, had fallen in the disastrous battle with Tamerlane; but although the number of Bajazet's sons is uncertain, there were, in addition to Mohammad, two other competitors for the vacant throne. These were Solyman and Musa. The former of these brothers had fallen into the hands of the latter, who put him to death; and the fratricide himself shared the same fate not long afterwards, at the hands of his brother Mohammad, who, not contented with this murder, seized upon Orcan, the son of Solyman, his own nephew, and, to render his sovereignty more secure, deprived the unhappy young prince of his eye-sight, and having sent him to Brusa, gave him a pension for life.

It was in Mohammad's reign that the war broke out between the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic, then in the plenitude of its power, the consequences of which were so disastrous to the mercantile and maritime interests of the Sultan's dominions. But among the events which troubled the brief reign of this emperor, perhaps the most remarkable was the sudden appearance of a pretender to his throne.

Sineis Pasha had repeatedly resisted the claims of Mohammad I., and notwithstanding his rebellious conduct, had been treated with remarkable lenity, and placed in the government of Nicopolis; but he could not lay aside his hatred to the Sultan, and resolved, if possible, to deprive him of his throne by means likely to prove more effective than any merely military movement. Having discovered a person who bore a striking likeness to Mustafa, who, as just mentioned, had fallen in the battle with Timour, he resolved that he should be made to personate the deceased prince, and claim the empire, as the eldest son of Bajazet; and the false Mustafa had the same qualifications for the enterprise in which the treacherous Sineis engaged him, as Perkin Warbeck is said to have possessed for personating the Duke of York, and claiming the throne of Richard III. of England. He was not only extremely like the deceased prince, but possessed a noble

air and captivating manners, such as might well have beseemed a prince of royal lineage.

Mohammad no sooner was made aware of this unexpected danger, than he hastened to cross the Hellespont with an army of 60,000 men, to oppose the rebel force, and speedily rendered their designs abortive, and put the pretender and his supporter Sineis to flight. The defeat, however, which they thus sustained was not sufficient to put an end to the pretensions of the pseudo-Mustafa. He took shelter in the dominions of the Greek Emperor, who seems to have been fully persuaded of the justice of his claims, and to have believed him to be the veritable heir to the dominions of Bajazet. Mohammad in vain demanded that he should be delivered up to suffer the consequences of his imposture, but the utmost he could obtain from the Greek Emperor was his solemn assurance that the pretender and Sineis should be strictly confined to the island of Lemnos—an arrangement with which Mohammad was under the necessity of assenting to. He resolved, however, to chastise the Waywode of Wallachia for the part he had taken in aiding the schemes of Sineis and his protegée, the false Mustafa, and, crossing the Danube with an army, he ravaged the country, and destroyed several of the principal towns, demanding at last, as the condition of ceasing his work of slaughter, an increase of the tribute paid to the Ottoman treasury. In the midst of this work of vengeance, Mohammad was arrested by the approach of death, leaving to his eldest son Amurath an extent of territory by no means diminished by the many dangers which in his short reign he had been called to encounter.

When Mohammad I. perceived that death was at hand, he instantly despatched couriers to his eldest son Amurath, whom he had appointed the governor of Amasia, to summon him to his presence, but he expired at Hadrianople before the prince's arrival, A.D. 1422. Aware, however, of the great evils consequent upon a competition for the vacant sovereignty, the dying monarch had adopted all the means which experience and prudence could employ, to secure to the heir apparent a peaceable accession to the throne. He appointed him his successor by his will, and enjoined the officers of state carefully to conceal his

death till the prince should arrive. This arrangement was faithfully adhered to, and the decease of Mohammad having been kept a profound secret for six weeks, that event and the accession of Amurath were made known simultaneously to the kingdom.

Amurath, who possessed considerable genius and sagacity, occupied himself in the first instance in securing his possession of the sovereignty. The false prince Mustafa having escaped from Lemnos, had revived his attempt to excite a rebellion against the Sultan's authority, and, encouraged by the countenance which he received from several of the Greek princes, had contrived to raise a considerable force, which he collected on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, whither he was followed by Amurath with a large army. The Sultan, however, felt little confidence in the force with which he was about to oppose the pretender to his throne, for a large portion of it was justly supposed to be greatly inferior to the soldiers who followed the banner of Mustafa. The Sultan marched from Broussa to oppose the forces of the rebels, and the two armies encamped on opposite sides of a river, being unable to come to close quarters in consequence of the only bridge by which the stream could be crossed having been destroyed by Amurath's order; and while the opposing forces lay within sight of each other, the danger with which the Sultan was threatened was obviated by a very simple expedient.

Since the time that Musa had been put to death by his brother Mohammad, the late Sultan, as already related, up to the present moment, a period of about eight years, there had been confined in the castle of Amasia a state prisoner of the name of Mohammad Bey, surnamed Michael Ogli, a man of great personal influence, and well known by the Sultan to be much revered for his prudence and sagacity, by the principal leaders of his opponent's army. The Sultan, fully relying on the powerful influence which this distinguished man could exert, gave him his liberty, and, calling him to court, received him into his favour. An opportunity was speedily afforded, which proved the importance of such a counsellor at so critical a juncture. As the forces lay encamped on opposite sides of the river, Michael Ogli resolved to endea-

vour to avert the danger of a battle by the art of persuasion. Approaching the margin of the river, he called to him by name several of his old friends and fellow soldiers, who held commands in Mustafa's army, and they immediately advanced on the opposite side, rejoicing at his re-appearance, and fully disposed to hear what he had to communicate. Finding his old friends prepared to listen to him, Michael Ogli addressed them on the subject of Mustafa's claim to be considered the son of Bajazet, and so greatly was he trusted and admired, that his eloquence proved effectual. Several of those to whom he spoke, convinced of the accuracy of his statements, swam across the river, and joined the ranks of Amurath. A letter was sent soon after to Mustafa, apparently in the utmost secrecy, from one of the pashas in his camp, communicating the intelligence that the army of Amurath was to cross the river on the following night, and that Mustafa's principal officers suspecting that his claim was ill founded, intended to deliver him up into the hands of the Sultan, who would instantly put him to death. These representations were completely successful. Mustafa, no longer able to trust his followers, fled from the camp, accompanied by only ten persons, and finding his way to the coast, crossed the Bosphorus, and took refuge in Gallipoli. His forces, finding themselves deserted, instantly laid down their arms, and became incorporated with the troops of Amurath. Thus the Sultan gained an easy and bloodless victory over his rival, who soon afterwards fell into his hands, and was hanged from one of the loftiest towers in Hadrianople.

The support which the counterfeit prince had received from the Greek Emperor had excited the indignation of the Sultan, and no sooner had he quelled the rebellion by the destruction of its principal instigator, than he resolved to wreak his vengeance on Constantinople. He accordingly appointed Michael Ogli, who had already done such good service in his cause, his lieutenant-general in Europe, and despatched him with a large force to ravage the territory in the immediate vicinity of the imperial city, whether he himself followed with his Janizaries. The invading force was numerous enough to fill the whole space along the western walls of the city, and across the promontory from sea to sea. All

the attempts of Amurath to take the city were utterly vain, and after an immense loss, he was under the necessity of raising the siege.

The Emperor Manuel had, as already mentioned, cast the burden of public affairs on the shoulders of John Palæologus, who afterwards became his successor; but although unable to take an active part in public affairs, he still continued to direct, in a great measure, the affairs of government. On Amurath's retiring from the siege of Constantinople, Manuel endeavoured to procure peace, but finding his entreaties in vain, he resorted to stratagem—the universal defence of the weak against the strong—by which to divert his powerful foe from continuing his attack on the city.

The late Sultan Mohammad had had several sons, all of whom, however, except two, had died in early life. One of these now occupied the throne, and the other, whose name was Mustafa, was only thirteen years old. It occurred to Manuel the Greek Emperor that an intrigue by which this young prince should be brought forward as a candidate for the sovereignty would have the effect of procuring him some respite from the perpetual attacks of his fierce and exasperated adversary. The expedient was perilous, but the danger which it was intended to avert was highly imminent, and the Greek Emperor, the successor of those illustrious men who once ruled the destinies of the world, was obliged to stoop to a mean and degrading artifice, which would have been spurned with indignation in the more prosperous days of the empire, now for ever past. Manuel, although possessed of little political power, was the sovereign of a city by far the wealthiest in the world. Employing the persuasive influence of gold, therefore, he led the king of Caramania to espouse his cause, and set up the unhappy child Mustafa as the opponent of his fierce and powerful brother. The young prince was carried to Nice, and that important city declared in his favour. But this attempt to excite rebellion signally failed. The tutor of the young prince, tempted by the splendid bribes held out to him by Amurath, delivered up his charge, who was guiltless of any intention to dethrone his brother, and he was immediately subjected to the bow-string.

The termination of these disturbances left the Sultan at liberty to pursue the schemes which they had interrupted, and to which he was now stimulated by a spirit of revenge. The Greek princes of Macedonia had greatly fomented the rebellion which had caused him such continued trouble, and he resolved to inflict upon them a severe chastisement. Collecting a vast army, he marched through Macedonia, reducing every Greek fortress and city in his way; and at last laid siege to Thessalonica (Saloniki), then under the protection of the Venetian Republic. The utmost efforts to seize upon this important city seemed to be to little purpose, till, to administer an additional stimulus, Amurath declared to his soldiers, that if they should succeed in their attempts, he would give up the whole city and all it contained to be plundered by them. This encouragement had the desired effect; and notwithstanding the valiant defence of the citizens, this celebrated city fell into the hands of Amurath. The subjugation of the whole district of Ætolia immediately followed the capture of Thessalonica; and many of the Greek princes, terrified by the irresistible forces of the Ottoman monarch, became his tributaries. Thus Greece, once the chosen land of the genius of liberty and valour, became prostrate beneath the feet of a barbarous despot; and for centuries the blighting influence of the Mohammadan rule effaced almost every shadow of its former glory—so that no more melancholy contrast is afforded by the history of nations than that of ancient and modern Greece.

The siege of Saloniki is referred to with beautiful simplicity by Knolles:—"The greedy desire of this rich prey, wherein every common souldier promised unto himself whatsoever his foolish fancy or unbridled affection could desire, so inflamed the minds of these barbarous souldiers, and especially of the Janizaries, that, giving a most terrible assault to the city, they by force enterd the same and won it. The Venetian souldiers fled to their gallies, lying at anchor in the haven, and so got to sea; but ye infinite miseries which ye poor Christian citizens endured in the fury of that barbarous nation, no tongue is able to express or pen describe. Death was less pain than ye ignominious outrages and unspeakable

villanies which many good Christians there suffered, heartily wishing to die, and could not; and yet ye furious enemies' sword devoured all the people without respect of age or sex, except such as for strength of body or comliness of person, were reserved for painful labour, or worse; which poor souls were afterwards dispersed into most miserable servitude and slavery through all parts of ye Turkish kingdom. The infinite riches of that famous citie became a spoil unto ye barbarous souldiers; the goodly houses were left desolate, void of inhabitants. Thus ye beautiful citie of Thessalonica, sometime one of the most glorious ornaments of Græcia, the late pleasant dwelling-place of many rich Christians, was by the tyrant given for an habitation to such base Turks as at their pleasure repaired thither to seat themselves, and so is by them at this day possessed. This calamitie happened to Thessalonica in the year of our Lord 1432." Prior to this period, a treaty had been entered into between the Mohammadan king of Caramania and the Hungarian nation, by which they bound themselves for mutual protection, that whenever Amurath should make war on the territories of the one, the other should instantly divert the attention of the Ottoman tyrant by declaring war. This treaty was suspected by Amurath to exist before he became really assured of it, from the circumstance, that he no sooner invaded the one territory, than his dominions were attacked in an opposite direction. He resolved therefore to terminate so troublesome a confederacy by a vigorous attack on the territories of Hungary, as being most capable of subjecting him to annoyance. His first step, therefore, was to enter and lay waste the dominions of George, Prince of Servia, his own father-in-law, who, he had reason to suspect, had joined in the treaty now referred to, and he followed up the devastation thus committed, by cruelly depriving of sight the two young princes of Servia, who were in his power, and were brothers of his wife.*

The condition of Hungary at this moment afforded to the

* This monstrous cruelty was far from uncommon; and there were various modes in which it was perpetrated. On this occasion, a red-hot brass basin was employed, which, being held close to the eyes, completely destroyed them, inflicting the most terrible agony.

Turkish tyrant a favourable opportunity for successful invasion. Albert, Duke of Austria, had married the only daughter of Sigismund, and had succeeded his father-in-law to the throne of Hungary. He died, however, immediately afterwards, leaving the royal widow about to produce an heir to the Hungarian sceptre. The extreme peril to which Hungary was continually exposed, from the inordinate desire of dominion displayed by Amurath, led the Hungarians to offer the crown to Vladislaus, King of Poland, on condition of his marriage with the royal widow. To this arrangement the Queen herself at first assented; but having changed her mind, caused her child, now three months' old, whom she called Ladislaus, to be crowned. The King of Poland, after much consideration, having agreed to the proposals made him, now took up arms to assert the right he had to their fulfilment; while, on the other hand, the partizans of the Queen assembled an army to defend her.

Hungary was thus involved in civil war, while exposed to a foreign enemy of indomitable energy and great military skill and resources. That enemy seized the favourable moment presented by intestine discord in Hungary, to proceed with an immense force towards its frontiers; and having marched along the Danube, he laid siege to Belgrade. This city, situated at the junction of the Save with the Danube, was very strongly fortified, not only by its natural position, but by artificial means; and its possession was justly regarded by the Sultan as of the highest importance to the success of his future operations against the Hungarian dominions. He accordingly made the most vigorous attempts to take it by assault, raising mounds and towers before the walls, and sending a fleet of war galleys to attack the fortifications on the river. All his efforts were ineffectual. The city was valiantly defended by Uranus, a Florentine, who was the governor; and after repeated assaults, which were bravely repulsed, and temptations offered to the defenders of the city to induce them to betray their trust, Amurath, having protracted the siege in the hope that the city, despairing of help from Vladislaus, would at last surrender, had to suffer the mortification, after an immense loss of life among his troops,

to be forced to raise the siege and retire, leaving one of his generals and a considerable force to lay waste the country of Servia.

Meantime Vladislaus, the newly elected King of Hungary, had not neglected the defence of his country from his merciless invader; but finding that Amurath had carried the war into Transylvania, he created John Huniades, his viceroy in that province, and despatched him to meet the invaders with a considerable force. This celebrated person was one of the most remarkable men in the warlike age in which he lived. His great military genius was accompanied by equal sagacity and courage; and he was endowed with personal vigour and activity such as enabled him to give full effect to the high mental qualities he possessed. "He was," says his ancient annalist, "a politique, valiant, fortunate, and famous captain; his victories so great, as the like was never before by any Christian prince obtained against the Turks; so that his name became unto them so dreadful, that they used the same to fear their crying children withal."

It is impossible within a limited space to describe the many splendid achievements of this great general. By means of a series of successful battles, in which he evinced the most subtle genius, and the most daring courage, Huniades completely overthrew the Ottoman army in Transylvania, and drove the survivors across the Danube.

The defeat which Amurath thus sustained at the hands of Hungary was followed by new losses in another portion of his dominions, to which it is now requisite to refer.

In the troops of the Sultan, during the whole campaign against Hungary, there was an officer of high rank of the name of George Castriot, or, as he was called by the Turks, Scanderbeg, *i. e.*, Prince Alexander. This young man possessed qualities of mind and personal endowments which placed him perfectly on a level with his great opponent Huniades. He was a Prince of Epirus, and he had been torn from his country in his boyhood by the remorseless invader, who seized his patrimonial possessions and murdered his three brothers. He had been carried as a hostage to Amurath's court, and had the good fortune to gain the favour of the Ottoman Sultan,

who, finding him possessed of remarkable abilities, had him carefully instructed in military exercises, and, when he arrived at manhood, appointed him a governor of a province and a general in his army. The injury which his beloved country of Epirus had suffered from the invasion of Amurath, and the miseries inflicted upon his own particular family, had made an impression upon his mind which no kindness from Amurath could efface. In a degenerate age, George Castriot was a worthy representative of the patriotic heroes, who, in classic ages, trod the soil of Greece. While he was serving as a general in the army of the Sultan, he was maturing his plans for the freedom of his native country; and although he cannot be justified in remaining in the service of the Sultan with such intentions, it must be remembered that the age in which he lived seemed to make every species of stratagem lawful, and his love for his country rendered Castriot ready to justify himself in the part he was acting. The exploits of this extraordinary hero are too numerous to be described. The successes of his opponent Huniades enabled Scanderbeg to seize the opportunity which he had long pined for. Escaping with a few trusty followers from the last battle fought against the Hungarians, he possessed himself of the person of the secretary to the pasha, who had held the chief command, and compelled him at the point of the sword to write letters as if from the pasha, his master, addressed to the Governor of Croia, the chief city of Epirus, in which his father had reigned, and whose heir he himself was, requiring the governor to deliver up the government to him. He then put the unhappy secretary to death, and pushed on towards Epirus, while Amurath, hearing nothing of him, presumed he was numbered with the slain.

Scanderbeg having arrived at Croia and exhibited his letters, was at once permitted to assume the government of the city; and so well did he improve the advantage thus gained, that in an incredibly brief space of time he reduced every fortress and city in Epirus, drove the Turks from the country, and, after entering Macedonia, and ravaging the Turkish territories, completely defeated an immense force sent against him by Amurath. The losses which the Sultan had thus

suffered both in Hungary and in Epirus filled him with profound grief, and his distress was greatly aggravated by the accidental death of Alladin, his eldest son, who was killed by a fall from his horse in hunting. Thus, wearied and worn out with incessant toils and troubles, the Sultan resolved to abdicate, and having made peace with the kings of Hungary and Caramania, he quitted the throne and retired to Magnesia, to assume the habit of a dervish, leaving the reins of government in the hands of his son Mohammad, a boy of fifteen years of age, whom at the same time he placed under the care of two able and zealous counsellors.

Amurath soon discovered that his retirement from the duties of royalty did not ensure him the quiet he desired. The recent defeats which the Ottoman arms had sustained, the retirement from public life of the Sultan, and the accession of a prince totally destitute of experience, afforded too favourable an apportunity to Amurath's enemies easily to be neglected. John Palæologus, Emperor of Constantinople, united with many other princes, both Mohammadan and Christian, in deploring the treaty of peace which had been recently entered into between Amurath and the King of Hungary, believing that an opportunity had thus been lost of materially abridging, if not of wholly shaking off, the Ottoman authority. The utmost efforts were accordingly made to induce Vladislaus to violate the treaty. Vladislaus had sworn upon the Holy Evangelists to maintain the treaty inviolate; but this difficulty was easily overcome. The Bishop of Rome sent a legate into Hungary, who, in contempt of all those principles of truth and equity which Christianity demands shall be observed even towards an enemy, professed to absolve Vladislaus and all who had united with him from the obligations of the solemn oath which had been taken.

The league with the Sultan being thus at an end, Scanderbeg, who had now attained a large measure of success, and possessed a great army, was induced to unite his forces with those of Vladislaus; and Huniades and Scanderbeg found themselves about to fight under the same banner and against their common enemy. The confederate forces now marched onwards from Nicopolis eastwards, reducing the cities

and fortresses in their way, and putting their Turkish inhabitants to the sword. The pashas, now perceiving the error which Amurath had committed in retiring from public life, and leaving the government in the hands of a boy, besought him to return and defend his dominions. The Sultan lost no time in obeying the summons, and, in a very brief period, gathered an immense army in Asia Minor, and adroitly crossing the Bosphorus, marched towards Varna, a city on the shores of the Black Sea, where the army of his adversaries lay, and encamped within four miles from their position. It is unnecessary minutely to describe the fatal battle of Varna. The army of the Sultan was completely victorious, notwithstanding the utmost efforts made by the redoubtable warriors who led the confederate army. Vladislaus was slain, and an immense booty fell into the hands of the victors.*

After the battle of Varna, A.D. 1444, Amurath once more retired to Magnesia; but whether he became weary of a life so different from that to which he had been accustomed, or was again solicited in consequence of the exigency of public affairs to return to public life, certain it is that he quitted his retirement after a short period, and placed himself at the head of his army, and invaded the territories of Scanderbeg. The success, however, which he gained over that able warrior was no greater than his own generals had obtained. Having made his way to Croia, the chief city of Scanderbeg's dominions, he in vain endeavoured to take it by assault. The disappointment to which he was thus subjected deeply affected him, and his disappointment was aggravated by finding that Scanderbeg, to whom he had offered peace, rejected his offer with scorn, and defied his power. Harassed by repeated discomfitures, and perhaps not a little by the increasing infirmities of old age, Amurath was seized with a mortal sickness, in the course of which he bitterly complained that,

* It is said that during the battle, Amurath perceiving the crucifixes which were displayed on the ensigns of the Christian army, drew forth from his bosom the treaty which the Christian princes had so infamously violated, and looking up to heaven, uttered a prayer addressed to Jesus Christ, that the perjury committed in his name might be visited upon the violators of the league.

after all his successes in life, he should perish at the siege of an obscure town in Epirus, and in the sight of a contemptible enemy. Feeling assured that he was dying, he sent for his son Mohammad, and addressed him with faltering accents—bitterly complaining that by basely ending his days under the walls of Croia, he should become a bye-word to posterity, and among other sage counsels warning him never to despise even the weakest of his enemies. This celebrated king soon after died A.D. 1450, and Mohammad, who had greatly profited during the period which had elapsed since his accession to power, succeeded to the throne.

CHAPTER VI.

1450-1453.

Accession of Mohammad II.—Public expectations—His character—Murders his brothers—His projects of reform—Resolves to seize on Constantinople—His preparations—Fortress on the Bosphorus—Alarm of the Greek Emperor—Preparation for the siege of Constantinople—The state of the city as to defence—Description of Constantinople—The siege—Its progress and incidents—Fleet of the Ottomans carried across the land to the inner harbour—Assault The city taken.

THE death of Amurath II. filled Christendom with joy, and the Greeks and other Christians, whose territories were bounded by the tyrant's kingdom, entertained a sanguine expectation that under the rule of Mohammad, the new sovereign, they should escape the manifold evils and sufferings to which they had been continually exposed. They even presumed that he would himself embrace Christianity, having been instructed in the Christian faith by his mother, the daughter, as already observed, of a prince of Servia. Never were expectations more fallacious. Mohammad was a sworn foe of Christianity; and although he made a show of embracing Islamism, he was a thorough infidel. He possessed very considerable intellectual qualities and acquirements, it is true; he was courageous, acute, energetic, careful in the administration of justice; a great patron of the fine arts and learned men; and himself an excellent scholar, intimately conversant with the Greek and Latin languages, as well as the Arabic, Persian, and Chaldee; but all his good parts were obscured by monstrous vices. He was ambitious beyond measure, crafty and perfidious, cruel and sanguinary. His affection could not be trusted, his slightest displeasure was

fatal. Nature intended him to be a remorseless tyrant—she fulfilled her intention.

Almost his first act on succeeding his father was the atrocious murder of his two brothers—a crime which, as we have already stated, stains the annals of several of his predecessors. One of these, an infant of eighteen months old, he had brought by its nurse into his presence, and was about to strangle it with his own hands, when Moses, one of his pashas, begged he would not imbrue his hands in his brother's blood, but allow him to put the child to death, which he immediately did by pouring water into its mouth.*

Immediately after his accession, Mohammad directed his attention to the state of the laws, in which he affected such changes and improvements as seemed to him suitable, and having terminated the Caramanian war by completely subjugating that country, he found himself in a condition to give his undivided attention to an object which had long been kept in view by his predecessors, and which he resolved by every means within his reach to effect—the reduction of Constantinople. His eagerness to accomplish this purpose was considerably increased by the imprudence of the Greeks themselves.

Mohammad's first step towards the accomplishment of his design was not long delayed. On returning from Caramania, and crossing the Bosphorus, having found himself incommoded by the Christian fleet, which occupied the southern entrance to the Hellespont, he resolved to erect a fortress, the possession of which would give him the command of that strait. At the narrowest portion of it, on the Asiatic side, stood a fortress which had been erected by his grandfather, and oppo-

* This child was the daughter of the prince of Sinope, whom Amurath had espoused. The unhappy mother learning the death of her child, came into the presence of the young tyrant and reviled him to his face. He endeavoured to appease her by assuring her it was for the good of the state, declaring that he would grant any request she made. She asked to be revenged on the pasha Moses, who was at once delivered into her power bound. Furious at the destruction of her infant, she seized a knife, and, having the pasha stripped, cut an orifice in his right side, and took out his liver piece by piece, and threw it to the dogs, while the miserable sufferer called in vain on his cruel master to save him.—*Knolles' Life of Mohammad.*

site to it, on the European shore, he now gave orders for another to be immediately built. For this purpose, early in the spring, a thousand artificers from Europe and Asia were assembled together at Asomaton, on the shore of the Bosphorus, and at about five miles distance from the imperial city, and employed, with an activity which the power of the Sultan could readily ensure, in forming into a fortress the materials which had been supplied to them from every available quarter. The quarries of Anatolia yielded the stones for the edifice, and the forests of Nicomedia the timber. The artificers themselves had each the aid of two labourers, so that, as 3000 persons, besides those occupied in conveying the materials, were employed on the building, and each workman had a task allotted him to be completed every day, the fortress was rapidly completed. It was of a triangular form, having a tower at each angle, two of which, with the base of the triangle, commanded the shore. It was of prodigious strength. The thickness of the walls was twenty-two feet, and that of the towers by which they were flanked, thirty, and the roof was covered with a solid platform of lead. The Sultan himself inspected, and by his continual presence hastened the completion of the work, and the interest which he thus evinced stimulated all his officers to the utmost degree.

The completion of this formidable stronghold made the Sultan absolute master of the Bosphorus. The Greek emperor instantly perceived the imminent peril in which his city must now be placed. He had sought by entreaty, by flattery, and by gifts, to interrupt a work which he had no power to oppose. But his efforts had been vain. The Greek ambassadors had represented to the Sultan that his grandfather had required the permission of the Emperor Manuel before building a fortress on his own territories, and that the castle now to be erected would only lead to the violation of national treaties, interrupt the trade of the Euxine, and endanger the subsistence of Constantinople. These representations had produced no effect. The Greek Emperor was too feeble to influence the determinations of the Sultan, and the Sultan too eager in his desire to possess the imperial city, to listen to the persuasions of those whom he felt able to expel

from it by force. The intentions of the Sultan soon became too obvious to be mistaken, and the emperor perceived that the long deferred hour was approaching which should behold the extinction of all that now remained of the once mighty empire of the Cæsars.

When the castle was finished, Mohammad stationed in it a garrison of 400 Janizaries, with orders to levy a tribute from every ship which should navigate the strait within reach of their guns. A Venetian vessel refusing to obey the new regulations, was sunk with a single ball from an enormous piece of ordnance which threw a stone bullet of a foot and a half in diameter. The crew took to the boat, but were captured by the Janizaries; the captain was impaled, his companions beheaded, and their bodies exposed to the wild beasts. By such proceedings, as well as direct acts of hostility, Mohammad indicated his intentions, but as winter now approached, any active measures against the imperial city were postponed till the ensuing spring.

The winter was passed by Mohammad in preparations for the siege, and by Constantine in adding to his means of defence. A Hungarian engineer possessed of great skill in the construction of cannon, and who had been employed by the Greek Emperor, offered his services to the Sultan, dissatisfied with the remuneration he had previously received. This person was occupied during the whole winter in the fabrication of enormous cannon, for which he was munificently rewarded by his new employers. One of the pieces of ordnance was a brass gun of almost incredible magnitude. It is said to have been capable of projecting a ball of six hundred pounds weight, and to have had a bore of twelve palms. While his engineers were employed in completing the requisite machinery, the Sultan himself was occupied day and night in arranging his mode of attack. He had plans of the fortifications carefully delineated, and he was continually employed in considering with his engineers and ministers against what part of the walls he should direct his batteries, where he should sink the mines, and where he should erect the scaling ladders.

The Greek Emperor, on the other hand, was no less occu-

pied, although his resources were comparatively limited. He strengthened the fortifications wherever it was possible, laid in all the ammunition he could obtain, and all the supplies of corn and other necessaries which came within his reach. Across the mouth of the harbour a strong chain was extended, supported at intervals by Greek and Italian ships well armed, and within the chain were placed the Greek navy, consisting chiefly of seven large ships, and three galleys of the Genoese, and several galliots from Crete, Venice, and the Island of Chios. Every effort was made to increase and render efficient the garrison of the city. In this latter object, however, the Greek Emperor was far from successful. On inquiring through the streets and dwelling-houses how many were able and willing to bear arms, Constantine had the mortification to discover that, from a population of more than 100,000, the number of those ready to defend the city amounted only to 4970 Romans; and although to this body were added 2000 strangers under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese, so small a force was insufficient to protect the city wall on the land side, the extent of which was about four miles, and miserably inadequate when diffused along all the ramparts, extending as they did to a circumference of at least thirteen miles. The supineness of the citizens was equalled by the apathy of those nations at a distance to whom the Emperor Constantine had applied. The former could not be prevailed upon to contribute their aid or their funds in the defence of their city. They were divided into parties on subjects of a theological kind, and could not act in concert even in the midst of a common danger. The former were too much concerned with perils and intrigues of their own to listen in time to the complaints of Constantine, and thus the winter passed away, and the eventful year arrived which was pregnant with the fate of the last inheritor of the imperial name of Cæsar.

The city of Constantinople was a prize worthy the ambition of the Ottoman Sultan. The extraordinary richness and beauty of the scenery by which it was surrounded—the extreme convenience of its harbour—the vast importance of its position in a political and commercial point of view, and the

beauty of the city itself, filled as it was with "buildings so stately and sumptuous," to use the language of a quaint old author, "that unto the strange beholders it seemed a dwelling-place for heavenly wights, rather than for earthly men"—these were advantages too well calculated to excite the cupidity and awaken the avarice of a sovereign far less formidable and less ambitious than Mohammad. Indeed, the situation of Constantinople, in the very heart of his dominions, would have pointed it out to the Sultan as in every way fitted to become the seat of the government of his vast empire, had other considerations been wanting to lead him to the same conclusion.

Constantinople is situated upon a promontory, on the European side of the south entrance to the strait which unites the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmora. The promontory was called by Pliny Chrysoceros, or Golden Horn, perhaps from some fanciful resemblance it seemed to bear to the Cornucopiæ of Amalthea. The figure of the city corresponds with that of the site it occupies; which is of the form of a truncated cone, the base of which, about four miles in extent, is toward the land; while its apex is washed by the waters of the strait, its southern side by the Sea of Marmora, and its northern boundary by the harbour. The circumference of the city is about thirteen miles, and its greatest breadth, from north to south, about four. It was defended on all sides by ramparts of immense strength, the masonry consisting of stones of enormous magnitude. On the western side next the land the fortifications consisted of a triple row of walls, of which the inner one overlooked the other two; beyond which a fosse a hundred feet in depth, and 200 broad, rendered access to the walls extremely difficult. The ramparts surrounding those parts of the city which were washed by the sea and the waters of the harbour, were neither so lofty nor so strong as those towards the land; but, in the imperfect condition of military tactics then prevailing, they were deemed impregnable.

It was in the spring of 1453 that Mohammad II. began the memorable siege of the imperial city. Every preceding step taken by the Sultan rendered the condition of the place

more hopeless, and its final doom more inevitable. Early in the year the Turkish forces seized upon all the towns and villages remaining to the Greek Emperor around the city. The fortresses and cities on the Black Sea were induced to surrender to the Ottoman power, or were taken by storm; and every succeeding conquest seemed the sad and melancholy presage of the approaching fate of the capital itself. It is impossible not to admire the courage and heroism which the last of the Roman Emperors exhibited under circumstances so painful and so humiliating. Constantine had the misfortune, not only to behold his formidable, and hitherto victorious foe approaching, but to be aware of the very small force he could oppose to him, and to endure the mortification of discovering that among a large population the fire of Roman patriotism was extinguished, save in the breasts of a comparatively small number of the citizens; that more than a third of the army on which he relied for defence were strangers; and, like those vermin which are said to migrate from a house about to fall, or a vessel about to perish, many of the nobility, and crowds of the people were seeking their safety in flight, without the slightest effort to raise an arm in his defence.

On the 6th of April the Ottoman army invested the city. Some authors make their number to be 400,000; but the most authentic account, that of Phranza, the faithful secretary of the Greek Emperor, states it at 258,000, itself a vast and irresistible force, which completely filled the whole space between the Propontis and the harbour. On the sea surrounding the city on the south and east, as far as the chain which closed against them the entrance to the harbour, there was a naval force of 320 vessels, which, although only eighteen could be considered as war-galleys, were all filled with men, provisions, and warlike stores. Mohammad resolved to direct his attack against the fortifications on the west or landward side of the capital, having previously arranged with the greatest care the plan of the siege, erected batteries on artificial mounds and natural eminences, equal in height with the fortifications, which he filled with cannon, many of them of great magnitude, and one of which, already referred to, was

drawn from the foundry at Hadrianople by fifty yoke of oxen. The practice of gunnery was little understood, and the newly invented powder, the discovery of which has added so vastly to the means of destruction possessed by modern armies, was employed in projecting balls of stone instead of metal, and had not yet superseded the engines employed of old by the armies of Rome. The ancient catapult and the modern cannon, the old battering-ram and the new bullet, were employed against the same ramparts. Wooden towers high enough to be on a level with the walls, and covered with hides, were made to advance to the attack on rollers, while the soldiers whom they contained poured forth incessant volleys of arrows and shot against the defenders. In the earlier part of the conflict, the cannon of the Sultan made little impression, while the besieged dealt destruction on every hand, amid the densely crowded masses of their foes. It was not long, however, before considerable impression was made upon the fortifications; while the besiegers employed their most determined efforts to form level passages to the walls. Trunks of trees, rubbish, fascines, were heaped up during the day, but the night which succeeded saw them destroyed or removed by the unwearied efforts of the gallant band who defended the walls, and to the amazement and chagrin of the invading force and their relentless leader. The Greek Emperor, however, and his devoted soldiers, had great disadvantages to contend with. Their ammunition was scanty, and they were afraid to discharge from the walls the larger cannons which they possessed, lest the fabric, already weakened by the hand of time, should be destroyed by the shock.

While the conflict thus unremittingly proceeded, an incident occurred which is described by an eloquent historian in the following terms:—"The generosity of the Christian princes was cold and tardy; but in the first apprehension of a siege, Constantine had negociated, in the isles of the Archipelago, the Morea, and Sicily, the most indispensable supplies. As early as the beginning of April, five ships, equipped for merchandise and war, would have sailed from the harbour of Chios had not the wind blown obstinately from the north. One of these ships bore the imperial flag; the remaining four belonged to the Genoese, and they were laden with wheat

and barley; with wine, oil, and vegetables; and, above all, with soldiers and mariners for the service of the capital. After a tedious delay, a gentle breeze, and, on the second day, a strong gale from the south, carried them through the Hellespont and the Propontis; but the city was already invested by sea and land, and the Turkish fleet, at the entrance of the Bosphorus, was stretched from shore to shore in the form of a crescent, to intercept, or at least to repel these bold auxiliaries. The reader who has present to his mind the geographical picture of Constantinople will conceive and admire the greatness of the spectacle. The five Christian ships continued to advance with joyful shouts, and a full press both of sails and oars, against a hostile fleet of three hundred vessels; and the rampart, the camp, the coasts of Europe and Asia, were lined with innumerable spectators, who anxiously awaited the event of this momentous succour. At the first view that event could not appear doubtful; the superiority of the Muslims was beyond all measure or account, and, in a calm, their numbers and valour must inevitably have prevailed. But their hasty and imperfect navy had been created, not by the genius of the people, but by the will of the Sultan. In the height of their prosperity the Turks have acknowledged that if God had given them the earth, he had left the sea to the infidels; and a series of defeats—a rapid progress of decay—has established the truth of their modest confession. Except eighteen galleys of some force, the rest of their fleet consisted of open boats, rudely constructed and awkwardly managed, crowded with troops, and destitute of cannon; and since courage arises, in a great measure, from the consciousness of strength, the bravest of the Janizaries might tremble on a new element. In the Christian squadron, five stout and lofty ships were guided by skilful pilots, and manned with the veterans of Italy and Greece, long practised in the arts and perils of the sea. Their weight was directed to sink or scatter the weak obstacles that impeded their passage —their artillery swept the waters—their liquid fire was poured on the heads of their adversaries, who, with the design of boarding, presumed to approach them; and the winds and waves are always on the side of the ablest navigators. In this conflict the imperial vessel, which had been almost

overpowered, was rescued by the Genoese; but the Turks, in a distant and closer attack, were twice repulsed with considerable loss. Mahomet himself sat on horseback on the beach, to encourage their valour by his voice and presence, by the promise of reward and by fear more potent than the fear of an enemy. The passions of his soul, and even the gestures of his body, seemed to imitate the actions of the combatants; and, as if he had been lord of nature, he spurred his horse with a fearless and impotent effort into the sea. His loud reproaches and the clamours of the camp urged the Ottomans to a third attack, more fatal and bloody than the two former; and I must repeat, though I cannot credit, the evidence of Phranza, who affirms from their own mouths that they lost about 12,000 men in the slaughter of the day. They fled in disorder to the shores of Europe and Asia; while the Christian squadron, triumphant and unhurt, steered along the Bosphorus, and securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. In the confidence of victory, they boasted that the whole Turkish power must have yielded to their arms; but the admiral or captain bashan found some consolation for a painful wound in his eye, by representing that accident as the cause of his defeat. Baltha Ogli was a renegade of the race of the Bulgarian princes; his military character was tainted with the unpopular vice of avarice; and under the despotism of the prince or people, misfortune is a sufficient evidence of guilt. His rank and services were annihilated by the displeasure of Mahomet. In the royal presence the captain bashan was extended on the ground by four slaves, and received one hundred strokes with a golden rod; his death had been pronounced, and he adored the clemency of the Sultan, who was satisfied with the milder punishment of confiscation and exile. The introduction of this supply revived the hopes of the Greeks, and accused the supineness of their western allies. Amidst the deserts of Anatolia and the rocks of Palestine, the millions of the crusades had buried themselves in a voluntary and inevitable grave; but the situation of the imperial city was strong against her enemies and accessible to her friends, and a rational and moderate armament of the maritime states might have saved

the relics of the Roman name, and maintained a Christian fortress in the heart of the Ottoman empire. Yet this was the sole and feeble attempt for the deliverance of Constantinople. The more distant powers were insensible of its danger; and the ambassador of Hungary, or at least of Huniades, resided in the Turkish camp, to remove the fears and to direct the operations of the Sultan."*

After the utmost efforts, Mohammad began to perceive that the reduction of the city seemed to be hopeless, unless an attack could be made upon the walls from the harbour; but it was impossible for the Ottoman fleet to penetrate within the chain by which the entrance was closed, or to cope with the large ships stationed at that point. A device to effect this object now either occurred to the fertile mind of the Sultan, or, as is stated by Knolles, was suggested to him by some of his engineers, and he resolved to transport a number of vessels across the promontory opposite Constantinople, on which was built the suburb of Galata, and to launch them on the waters of inner harbour. This bold manœuvre was no sooner conceived than carried into execution. The ground behind Galata was overlaid with smooth planks, rendered slippery by the application of grease, and along these, by the united force of thousands, aided by ropes, pulleys, and rollers, eighty galleys of a light draught were hauled out of the water of the strait, and in the course of one night launched far within the harbour out of the reach of those ships whose larger dimensions prevented them from proceeding into the shallow water in which they floated.† The Sultan having thus gained the command of the harbour, redoubled his exertions. While his engineers sunk mines under the walls on the land side of the city, he constructed in the upper harbour a bridge or mole, on which he placed his batteries of cannon, and by which the besiegers were enabled to approach close to the fortifications.

* Gibbon.

† The distance over which these galleys were drawn is stated by Gibbon to be ten miles, and by Knolles to be eight; but there is reason to presume, from the description of Dr. Walsh, that they were brought over a ravine behind Galata of only about two miles across.

The Greeks now defended themselves under great and increasing disadvantages. Instead of sustaining an attack on one point, on which they had hitherto been enabled to concentrate their efforts, they had an additional assault to endure, and that in a part of their fortifications least capable of being successfully defended; and while they were thus weakened by a double attack, and beheld their walls dismantled by the incessant play of their adversary's artillery, they were still more enfeebled by the discord and rivalry of the Venetian and Genoese soldiers, by the conduct of more than one traitor in their camp, by the increasing hopelessness of their condition, and by the want of pecuniary means by which to recompense their mercenary defenders for the incessant and laborious exertions they were called upon to make. Nevertheless, it was not till forty days had been occupied on a siege which, for ferocity and pertinacity, has never been surpassed, conducted by a warrior of the utmost determination, possessed of immense superiority in every respect over his adversaries, that Constantine was forced to admit that the fate of his capital, and with it the total extinction of his ancient empire, could not be much longer protracted.

The Sultan having consulted the stars, in the imaginary language of which he was a devout believer, was informed by his astrologers that the 29th of May would be fatal to Constantinople, and propitious to himself. He resolved, accordingly, that on that day a general assault on the devoted city should take place. He began two days before to make his preparations, addressing himself to the passions of the immense masses who constituted the besieging force. Having issued his orders as to the assault itself, he sent heralds throughout his camp to proclaim his determination to punish, in the most cruel manner, any fugitive or deserter from his post, while he took care that crowds of dervishes should address those in his army of acknowledged courage on the glories of martyrdom in the cause of God and the Prophet, and incite them to fight with renewed energy, by setting before them those rewards, in a future state, by which his namesake, the originator of the Muslim faith, operated so

powerfully on his Saracen followers. Nor did the subtle leader fail to appeal to the cupidity and avarice of his troops by swearing to them a solemn oath, that on the capture of the city he would give it over to be plundered, with all its inhabitants, for three days. Thus prepared for a last effort upon the devoted city, the Mohammadan host observed a general fast, and concluded their devotional rites by a festival and an illumination.

Meantime the last of the Roman Emperors, far from ignorant of the impending danger, left nothing undone that wisdom and valour could with limited means achieve. With cheerful countenance he addressed his soldiers, endeavouring to convey to them prospects which the situation of affairs could not warrant, and to inspire them with hopes which he himself could not entertain. The noble example of magnanimity and heroism which their royal leader had already given during the siege, and the eloquence with which he now appealed to the valour, the chivalry, and the honour of his soldiers, was not lost upon them. Nerved by courage as well as by despair, they devoted themselves to his service, and resolved with a spirit not surpassed by that of the most brilliant ages of Roman prowess, to perish amid the ruins of those walls which they could not much longer defend. Having thus done all in his power to strengthen the resolution of his army, Constantine retired to the church of St. Sophia, and beneath its marble dome, so soon to resound with the shouts of the Muslim, received with his superior officers the sacrament of the holy communion, and then, after a short repose, proceeded to the ramparts. The long delayed but inevitable moment was at hand, and like the light which burns more brilliantly just before its extinction, Constantine was about to close a life of mortification and sorrow, by a degree of heroism worthy of his illustrious patronymic, and placing him, in a moral aspect, on a level with the greatest and most magnanimous of his ancestors.

During the night preceding the fatal 29th of May, the Sultan was incessantly employed. His troops and their batteries were brought nearer to the walls, and every means adopted to facilitate the proceedings of the following day, while

in the harbour, the galleys were made to draw close to the most accessible portions of the ramparts. Fascines and scaling ladders were all in readiness, and the plan of a simultaneous attack completely laid down. At the earliest hour of dawn the assault began at the same instant both from the land and water. The Sultan, observing a scheme previously adopted, and frequently acted upon by the Ottoman generals, began his attack with the worst of his troops, the mere refuse of the mighty host which he commanded. These pressing on with blind and reckless fury toward the walls, were easily repulsed by their gallant and skilful opponents. They were succeeded in the attack by the best of the Ottoman army, who engaged an enemy already weakened by the efforts requisite to repel the tumultuous mob who had led the attack. The air was darkened with the missiles of the combatants. Showers of arrows were shot against the walls, an incessant cannonade was kept up from every point along the line of the Turkish army, while the gallant band who defended the walls cast from the lofty battlements stones, large pieces of timber, arrows, and every conceivable missile on the vast concourse of their foes. Every missile, however rude, took effect on the living mass who thronged beneath the ramparts. The Greeks fought with the utmost valour and heroism, and at the end of two hours their assailants had gained no advantage. The decisive moment at length arrived. Hitherto the 15,000 Janizaries, the flower of the Ottoman army, had remained inactive. Mohammad now led them in person, and they rushed to the assault with shouts rivalling the thunder of the cannon which roared around. A scene of blood and slaughter ensued which cannot be described, and in the midst of the conflict an incident occurred which decided the fortune of the day. Justiniani, the noble Genoese who acted as commander-in-chief under the Greek Emperor, received a severe wound, and retired from the rampart to seek the aid of a surgeon. The emperor expostulated with him, but to no purpose; he replied in the language of despair, "I will retire by the same road which God has opened to the Turks." He then quitted by one of the breaches of the inner wall, the post he had hitherto gallantly maintained, and was followed by a large

number of the auxiliaries whom he had brought to the service of the emperor, thus by his pusillanimity staining the laurels he had acquired, and covering his name with opprobrium. This incident was followed by the almost immediate capture of the city, an event however, it may be added, which could not have been long delayed under any circumstances. The Janizaries thronged to the walls, now comparatively undefended, and the Emperor Constantine casting away those insignia which indicated his rank, met from some unknown hand the fate which he now anxiously desired, and was slain in the breach which he had to the last defended. The death of the emperor decided the fate of the city. Resistance was at an end; the victorious Mohammadans poured into the streets, where they met with others who had already forced the gates.

The following passage is from the eminent historian already quoted:—

"The tidings of misfortune fly with a rapid wing; yet such was the extent of Constantinople, that the more distant quarters might prolong, some moments, the happy ignorance of their ruin. But in the general consternation, in the feelings of selfish or social anxiety, in the tumult and thunder of the assault, a *sleepless* night and morning must have elapsed; nor can I believe that many Grecian ladies were awakened by the Janizaries from a sound and tranquil slumber. On the assurance of the public calamity, the houses and convents were instantly deserted; and the trembling inhabitants flocked together in the streets, like a herd of timid animals, as if accumulated weakness could be productive of strength, or in the vain hope, that amid the crowd each individual might be safe and invisible. From every part of the capital, they flowed into the church of St. Sophia: in the space of an hour, the sanctuary, the choir, the nave, the upper and lower galleries, were filled with the multitude of fathers and husbands, of women and children, of priests, monks, and religious virgins. the doors were barred on the inside, and they sought protection from the sacred dome, which they had so lately abhorred as a profane and polluted edifice. Their confidence was founded on the prophecy of an enthusiast or impostor,—that one day the Turks should enter Constantinople, and pursue

the Romans as far as the column of Constantine in the square before St. Sophia, but that this would be the term of their calamities; that an angel would descend from heaven with a sword in his hand, and would deliver the empire with that celestial weapon, to a poor man seated at the foot of the column: 'Take this sword,' would he say, 'and avenge the people of the Lord.' At these animating words, the Turks would instantly fly, and the victorious Romans would drive them from the west, and from all Anatolia, as far as the frontiers of Persia. It is on this occasion, that Ducas, with some fancy and much truth, upbraids the discord and obstinacy of the Greeks. 'Had that angel appeared,' exclaims the historian—'had he offered to exterminate your foes if you would consent to the union of the church, even then, in that fatal moment, you would have rejected your safety, or have deceived your God.'

"While they expected the descent of the tardy angel, the doors were broken with axes; and as the Turks encountered no resistance, their bloodless hands were employed in selecting and securing the multitude of their prisoners. Youth, beauty, and the appearance of wealth, attracted their choice; and the right of property was decided among themselves by a prior seizure, by personal strength, and by the authority of command. In the space of an hour, the male captives were bound with cords, the females with veils and girdles. The senators were linked with their slaves; the prelates with the porters of the church; and young men of a plebeian class with noble maids, whose faces had been invisible to the sun and their nearest kindred. In this common captivity, the ranks of society were confounded; the ties of nature were cut asunder; and the inexorable soldier was careless of the father's groans, the tears of the mother, and the lamentations of the children. The loudest in their wailings were the nuns, who were torn from the altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair; and we should piously believe that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem to those of the monastery. Of these unfortunate Greeks, of these domestic animals, whole strings were rudely driven through the streets; and as the conquerors were eager to return for more prey, their

trembling pace was quickened with menaces and blows. At the same hour, a similar rapine was exercised in all the churches and monasteries, in all the palaces and habitations of the capital; nor could any palace, however sacred or sequestered, protect the persons or the property of the Greeks. Above sixty thousand of this devoted people were transported from the city to the camp and fleet; exchanged or sold according to the caprice or interest of their masters, and dispersed in remote servitude through the provinces of the Ottoman empire. Among these we may notice some remarkable characters. The historian Phranza, first chamberlain and principal secretary, was involved with his family in the common lot. After suffering four months the hardships of slavery, he recovered his freedom; in the ensuing winter he ventured to Adrianople, and ransomed his wife from the *mir bashi*, or master of horse; but his two children, in the flower of youth and beauty, had been seized for the use of Mahomet himself. The daughter of Phranza died in the seraglio, perhaps a virgin; his son, in the fifteenth year of his age, preferred death to infamy, and was stabbed by the hand of the royal lover. A deed thus inhuman cannot surely be expiated by the taste and liberality with which he released a Grecian matron and her two daughters, on receiving a Latin ode from Philelphus, who had chosen a wife in that noble family. The pride or cruelty of Mahomet would have been most sensibly gratified by the capture of a Roman legate; but the dexterity of Cardinal Isidore eluded the search, and he escaped from Galata in a plebeian habit. The chain and entrance of the outward harbour was still occupied by the Italian ships of merchandise and war. They had signalized their valour in the siege; they embraced the moment of retreat, while the Turkish mariners were dissipated in the pillage of the city. When they hoisted sail, the beach was covered with a suppliant and lamentable crowd; but the means of transportation were scanty: the Venetians and Genoese selected their countrymen; and, notwithstanding the fairest promises of the Sultan, the inhabitants of Galata evacuated their houses, and embarked with their most precious effects.

"In the fall and the sack of great cities, an historian is

condemned to repeat the tale of uniform calamity: the same effects must be produced by the same passions; and when those passions may be indulged without control, small, alas! is the difference between civilised and savage man. Amidst the vague exclamations of bigotry and hatred, the Turks are not accused of a wanton or immoderate effusion of Christian blood: but according to their maxims (the maxims of antiquity), the lives of the vanquished were forfeited; and the legitimate reward of the conqueror was derived from the service, the sale, or the ransom of his captives of both sexes. The wealth of Constantinople had been granted by the Sultan to his victorious troops; and the rapine of an hour is more productive than the industry of years. But as no regular division was attempted of the spoil, the respective shares were not determined by merit; and the rewards of valour were stolen away by the followers of the camp, who had declined the toil and danger of the battle. The narrative of their depredations could not afford either amusement or instruction: the total amount, in the last poverty of the empire, has been valued at four millions of ducats; and of this sum a small part was the property of the Venetians, the Genoese, the Florentines, and the merchants of Ancona. Of these foreigners, the stock was improved in quick and perpetual circulation; but the riches of the Greeks were displayed in the idle ostentation of palaces and wardrobes, or deeply buried in treasures of ingots and old coin, lest it should be demanded at their hands for the defence of their country. The profanation and plunder of the monasteries and churches excited the most tragic complaints. The dome of St. Sophia itself, the earthly heaven, the second firmament, the vehicle of the cherubim, the throne of the glory of God, was despoiled of the oblations of ages; and the gold and silver, the perils and jewels, the vases and sacerdotal ornaments, were most wickedly converted to the service of mankind. After the divine images had been stripped of all that could be valuable to a profane eye, the canvas, or the wood, was torn, or broken, or burnt, or trod under foot, or applied, in the stables or the kitchen, to the vilest uses. The example of sacrilege was imitated, however, from the Latin conquerors of Constanti-

nople; and the treatment which Christ, the Virgin, and the saints had sustained from the guilty catholic, might be inflicted by the zealous mussulman on the monuments of idolatry. Perhaps, instead of joining the public clamour, a philosopher will observe, that in the decline of the arts, the workmanship could not be more valuable than the work, and that a fresh supply of visions and miracles would speedily be renewed by the craft of the priest and the credulity of the people. He will more seriously deplore the loss of the Byzantine libraries, which were destroyed or scattered in the general confusion; one hundred and twenty thousand manuscripts are said to have disappeared; ten volumes might be purchased for a single ducat; and the same ignominious price, too high perhaps for a shelf of theology, included the whole works of Aristotle and Homer, the noblest productions of the science and literature of ancient Greece. We may reflect with pleasure, that an inestimable portion of our classic treasures was safely deposited in Italy; and that the mechanics of a German town had invented an art which derides the havoc of time and barbarism."*

The fall of Constantinople filled all Europe with consternation, and those princes whose timely aid might have delayed, if not averted the calamity, in vain regretted those unhappy circumstances which led them to withhold that assistance which might have supported the throne of the Cæsars. There now appeared to be no barrier to the onward progress of the Ottoman arms. Hungary, Germany, and Italy, alike seemed equally exposed to their power. But although some designs were formed to retake the imperial city from the victorious Sultan, the same causes which had already prevented the requisite aid being given in the hour of her extremity, still continued to operate, and Mohammad retained peaceable possession of his conquest, and continued to carry out his warlike schemes.

* Gibbon's Roman Empire, ch. lxviii.

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1453—1481.

Proceedings of the Sultan in the Morea, &c.—The Comnenian family—David Emperor of Trebizond—Voluntary submission of Servia—War with the Prince of Wallachia—Conquest of Bosnia, Mitylene, &c.—Scanderbeg's success in Greece—The Sultan's attack on Scodra—Siege of Rhodes and gallant defence of the Knights of St. John—Death of the Sultan.

THE reduction of Constantinople was followed by a series of victories. In the Morea, Demetrius and Thomas, the two surviving sovereigns of the royal house of Constantine, soon felt the power of the Ottoman conqueror. Entertaining little expectation of defending themselves, they resolved to seek in an exile from Greece that safety which it was in vain to expect within the reach of their irresistible foe. Their immediate danger, however, was averted by an arrangement with the Sultan, by which a tribute of 12,000 ducats was accepted, and thus while Mohammad pursued his conquests elsewhere, a respite of seven years was granted to the Morea. But the period of security from their common enemy was spent by the two royal brothers in continual dissensions. They ravaged each other's territories with fire and sword, utterly regardless of the ties of consanguinity, or the principles of the religion they professed, and forgetful of the additional peril which they thus incurred. The hour which they provoked at last arrived. The Sultan perceiving their implacable animosity, resolved to act as arbitrator, and having espoused the cause of Demetrius, marched an army into the Morea, and compelled him to surrender his territories, giving him as a compensation a pension for life, and taking his daughter as one of his wives. Demetrius submitted to a decision which it would have been useless to impugn or resist. He re-

ceived for his maintenance one of the cities of Thrace and three of the islands adjacent, but eventually obtained a pension from the Sultan, and ended his days in a monastery. Thomas, his brother, escaped from the enemy, and landed in Italy, where he received hospitable treatment from the Pope, and an annual allowance. At the period when the Morea thus fell into the hands of the Sultan, David, the last of the Comnenian family, possessed a small kingdom in Asia Minor, and styled himself Emperor of Trebizond. The progress of the Sultan's arms on the southern coast of the Black Sea soon brought him to the capital of David, which was invested by a fleet and army. The unhappy descendant of the Cæsars was peremptorily required to capitulate on condition of his life and property being secured, and the example of Ismael, Prince of Sinope, who had been driven to the same extremity, decided him. He resigned his territories to the Ottoman victor, and retired with his family to a castle in Romania, where, however, he was afterwards put to death on a suspicion of treasonable correspondence with the King of Persia. By his death, and ultimately that of Andrew and Manuel, the sons of Thomas who had fled to Italy, the ancient and illustrious line of the Cæsars is understood to have become extinct.*

The Ottoman Emperor having gained possession of Servia by the voluntary submission of that province on the death of George their prince, now resolved to direct his arms against Hungary, and made immense preparations for the siege of Belgrade. For this purpose he levied an army of 150,000 men, and provided a fleet of 200 ships and galleys.

* Thomas, however, is supposed to have had a son named Prosper, whose grandson Theodore married an English lady and died in England, leaving a family. The following inscription may be seen in the parish church of Landulph, in Cornwall:—"Here lyeth ye body of Theodore Paleologus of Pesaro in Italy, descended from the imperial lyne of ye last Christian emperors of Greece: being ye sonne of Camillo, ye sonne of Prosper, ye sonne of Thomas, second brother to Constantine Paleologus, ye 8th of that name and last of y^t^ lyne y^t^ rayned in Constantinople until subdewed by ye Turks; who married with Mary, ye daughter of William Balls of Hadyle, in Suffolke, Gent., and had issue and children —Theodore, John, Fernando, Maria, and Dorothy, and departed this life at Clifton ye 21st of Jan. 1636."

This fleet he sent up the Danube, so as to intercept all communication with the city from the river, while his army invested it by land. Mohammad commenced the siege by attacking the walls of the fortress with those immense cannon, which had done such effective service at the taking of Constantinople; but the valour and activity of the citizens rendered his labour vain. The ramparts were no sooner injured than they were repaired. While the attack was thus proceeding, the celebrated Hungarian general Huniades sent down the Danube from Buda a well appointed fleet, which completely defeated that of the Turks, taking from them twenty vessels, and compelling the others to run aground for safety near the Sultan's camp, where they were burnt by his order, lest they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Danube was thus completely cleared of all obstruction, and Huniades with five thousand soldiers soon after entered Belgrade to conduct the defence. The Sultan now prosecuted the attack with redoubled vigour, notwithstanding the severe loss sustained by the death of his lieutenant-general Carazias Pasha, who was slain by a shot from the walls. Having resolved to make a general assault upon the place early in the morning, his chosen troops assembled in great force, and mounted the various breaches which the cannon had already made. Huniades, however, evinced his military skill by an effective stratagem, which rendered the attack abortive. He ordered his troops to forsake the walls as if discouraged, and the Ottoman forces, believing the city already surrendered, poured into it, when, on a signal being given, the defenders rushed from every quarter, and unexpectedly attacked the besiegers, driving them from the walls with immense slaughter, and taking a large number of prisoners. Huniades soon after, taking advantage of the confusion, issued from the fortress, and attacking the besiegers' works, defeated his enemies, and carried off their cannon. The attack was then renewed by the Sultan's forces, but with no better success than before; and after repeated attempts, all repulsed with the utmost gallantry by the Hungarians, Mohammad found it necessary to retreat, having not only been himself severely wounded, but having lost all his cannon, his whole

fleet, and a great part of his fine army. It is highly probable that, if Huniades had been able to bring into action his cavalry which were on the opposite side of the Danube, the Ottoman army would have been entirely overthrown. This event took place 6th August 1456.

It is impossible, within the narrow limits to which we are necessarily restricted, to relate in detail the many important events of Mohammad's reign. A complete account of them would fill a large volume.

In 1462 Mohammad received intelligence that Vladus, Prince of Wallachia, his tributary, was resolved to cast off his allegiance, and join his mortal enemies the Hungarians. The Sultan accordingly resolved to prevent this, and had recourse to stratagem. For this purpose he sent his principal secretary Catabolinus to the court of Wallachia, desiring him to invite the prince to Constantinople, with the assurance of his receiving many greater honours and privileges than he had ever before enjoyed. At the same time he desired the secretary to arrange with Chamuses Pasha, the governor of the province on the south side of the Danube opposite to Wallachia, to do his utmost endeavour to seize upon the prince, offering him large rewards for this service.

On arriving at the Wallachian court, the secretary made the utmost efforts to induce the prince to proceed to Constantinople. Vladus, however, was on his guard, and replied to the invitations and promises so lavishly given in terms of equal courtesy, and after all his exertions, the utmost the Turkish envoy could attain was the offer of Vladus to accompany him part of the way on his return. Of this he immediately conveyed intelligence to Chamuses Pasha, who placed his troops in ambush on the way which the prince intended to take in accompanying the envoy toward the Danube. When the prince arrived at the place, the troops of the Pasha issued from their concealment, and attacked him with the utmost ferocity. Vladus, however, was accompanied by a much larger retinue than was expected, and being a man of great personal courage, he succeeded, notwithstanding the disadvantage at which he was taken, in repulsing his enemy, and taking the treacherous Pasha himself prisoner,

with a number of others. These he immediately put to death, hanging the secretary and the Pasha on gibbets higher than the rest. He then crossed the Danube, and having laid waste the country in every direction, and destroyed without respect to sex or age the inhabitants of every town and village in his way, recrossed the river into his own territories.

When the tidings of the failure of his scheme, and of the death of the Pasha and the secretary reached the Sultan, his rage knew no bounds, and he resolved to take a speedy and effectual revenge. For this purpose he assembled an immense army, with which he crossed into Wallachia, destroying and laying waste the country in every direction. The inhabitants, however, anticipating his attack, retired with all their moveable property and their families to the fastnesses of the mountains and the recesses of the forests, where they enjoyed comparative security, and Vladus, instead of running the risk of a single battle with an enemy so greatly his superior, contented himself with following the Turkish host, and attacking them by night, and on such opportunities as were afforded him without great risk to his own forces, and on one occasion succeeded in taking a large number of prisoners, and a considerable amount of spoil. Mohammad at last found it necessary to return with his army to Constantinople without having accomplished anything decisive. What he was unable to effect by force was however accomplished by intrigue. The younger brother of the Wallachian prince, who occupied a high place in the Sultan's favour, contrived to induce the people of the province to acknowledge him as their prince, and to desert the standard of his patriotic brother. He was accordingly chosen their sovereign, and he submitted at the same time to Mohammad, and acknowledged himself his vassal. Soon afterwards the Sultan achieved a series of rapid conquest elsewhere, including the island of Mitylene, and the important province of Bosnia. The incidents of the war with the celebrated Scanderbeg constitute a most important part of the history of Mohammad's reign. Of these, however, it is only possible to furnish a brief outline.

The Sultan had repeatedly endeavoured to make terms with Scanderbeg, offering him an honourable peace, on condition of his paying him tribute. All these overtures, however, the patriotic Greek had treated with the utmost contempt. Mohammad at length resolved by force of arms to subdue Epirus. He despatched against Scanderbeg two armies in succession, commanded by Amesa and Debreas, two veteran generals. These were completely overthrown by the brave defender of his country. A third army met with no better fate, being cut to pieces by the Greeks. Mohammad now had recourse to the artifice which had proved so efficient in Wallachia, and endeavoured to place on the throne of Epirus a relation of his valiant enemy, who would then have become his tributary; but Scanderbeg's sagacity was more than a match for his crafty foe, and the attempt to undermine and destroy his authority, proved no less abortive than the more open attacks which he had already so signally defeated.

Mohammad, however, having resolved that the Prince of Epirus should not continue to despise his power, and defeat his forces, marched into Greece with an army of 200,000 men, a force so vast as to afford him almost a certainty of overwhelming his opponent. Having invested Croia, he made the utmost efforts to reduce it, but in vain; while Scanderbeg, with a small but resolute army, securing himself among the woods and mountains, continually harassed the Ottoman army, until the Sultan, alarmed at the rapid destruction of his force, and chagrined by the signal failure of his expedition, committed the conduct of the siege of Croia to his general Balabanus, and retired to Constantinople, laying waste the country on his line of march, and taking possession of Khidna, the garrison of which, contrary to the articles of capitulation, he put to the sword.

Scanderbeg in the meantime implored the aid of Alphonsus, King of Naples, and having received succour from him, endeavoured to relieve the capital, which continued under siege. Balabanus was at length slain, and the besiegers, disheartened by his death, relinquished the disastrous attempt to take the city. In the following year, A.D. 1466, the Sultan renewed his attack on Epirus with an immense force, and although he

was still unable to reduce Croia, Scanderbeg was obliged to retire to Lyssa, where he closed his patriotic career. With his death, terminated the efforts which the Epirots had made to retain their independence, and their country at once became one of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

During the war with Scanderbeg, the Venetians had continued to harass the forces of the Sultan. This they were enabled to do with impunity, possessed as they were of a large and efficient fleet. The Sultan, therefore, resolved to defeat these active and warlike enemies, and in 1466 he succeeded in reducing the island of Eubœa under his dominion, notwithstanding the able defence of Chalcis. The Venetians, however, were not slow to retaliate upon the Turks the injuries they had received; and their admiral finding himself possessed of a fleet of eighty vessels, by means of the assistance contributed by King Ferdinand, the Bishop of Rome, and the Grand Master of Rhodes, attacked the Turkish possessions in Lesbos, and the coast of Asia Minor, carrying off an immense booty, and burning and destroying everything that came in his way. On subsequently returning to Rhodes, the Venetians found an ambassador had arrived from Persia, to obtain a supply of large ordnance, and he informed the allies, that war had been declared between the Shah and the Sultan. The Persian king being himself in alliance with Venice and the Christian princes opposed to the Sultan, Mohammad was prevented by the danger thus threatened from carrying out his project of invading Italy, and was under the necessity of despatching a large force into the east under the command of his son Mûstafa. The eastern campaign at length resulted in a treaty of peace with the Persian king, and he had leisure once more to direct his arms against those states whose territories bounded the European portions of his dominions.

The Sultan now conquered the greater part of Albania, and his forces overran the countries of Friuli, Istria, and Carniola. One of the most fierce and sanguinary sieges on record is that of Scodra, a strongly fortified city forming the key to Dalmatia. A few years previously, this city had repulsed the Ottoman forces; and Mohammad resolved that

he would now become master of it, whatever might be the cost. For this purpose, he levied an immense army from all parts of his dominions. This army was preceded in their march to Dalmatia by 80,000 cavalry from the banks of the Danube, formed by the feudal militia, who held lands from the Sultan on condition of giving their services in laying waste the country around any of the fortresses to be besieged, after which they were permitted to retire, without taking any part in the actual operations of the besiegers. The first division of the Ottoman army which advanced to the attack of Scodra consisted of 25,000 men, accompanied by an immense band of artificers; and 12,000 camels, laden with the metals necessary to the construction of cannon, together with ammunition and every requisite for a prolonged and vigorous siege. Six thousand Janizaries soon after joined the camp, and at length the Sultan himself arrived with an immense additional force. The city and fortress occupied a position of great natural strength, which rendered the attempt to take it extremely perilous and difficult; but its small size, and the limited number of its defenders, made this vast army appear out of all proportion when compared with the object of its attack. "All the country round about," says an ancient annalist, "as far as a man could see, was covered and white with tents, much like as when the ground in winter is covered over with a deep snow; and still more people resorted to the camp daily, so that it was deemed by men of great experience, that Mahomet had in his army about 350,000 men, all gaping to devour that poor citie; a sight of itself sufficient to have daunted the courage of right valiant men."

We shall not attempt to describe the ferocity with which Scodra was attacked by the Ottoman forces on the one hand, or the gallantry of its defence on the other. Mohammad caused great cannon to be cast upon the spot, by which were thrown balls, it is said, weighing thirteen hundred pounds. The siege lasted three months, during which several assaults were made by the whole forces of the Sultan, who in immense multitudes swarmed to the breaches which their ordnance had made, and were repulsed with extraordinary valour and intrepidity. Every effort of the Turkish host proved unavail-

ing, the valiant defenders of the place beating back their foes as often as they succeeded in gaining the walls. The Sultan at last found it necessary to raise the siege, after having lost an immense number of his best men.

The siege of Rhodes soon followed that of Scodra. This was an enterprise of great difficulty. The island and fortress were in the possession of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. These brave companions in arms met in council on the approach of the danger, and agreed to give implicit obedience to their Grand Master D'Aubusson, a man who possessed all those military qualities which could entitle him to confidence. He joined, with the wisdom of a prudent and sagacious commander, the ardent valour of a knight, and the enthusiastic faith of a martyr. At his call, some of the bravest of the nobility of Italy and France hastened to sustain the honour of their order, and the cause of Christendom on the battlements of his fortress. Among these illustrious soldiers were Louis de Craon, Scaligero della Scalla, and the Grand Master's brother Viscount D'Aubusson; men of whom it may be said—and it is the highest encomium that can be pronounced—that they were distinguished for their courage and chivalry, even in their highly distinguished order.

The fleet and army which the Sultan prepared for the attack upon Rhodes consisted of one hundred and sixty large vessels, and one hundred thousand troops. The siege commenced in May 1481 with an attack on Fort St. Nicholas, against which Mohammad planted some immense cannon.

The Grand Master himself, and his valiant brother, defended the breach in person. His helmet was knocked off by a stone shot from the enemy; he took a soldier's hat, and continued to fight with desperate courage, till the Janizaries with great loss were driven from the walls. The second attack was directed against the Jewish quarter of the city, where the walls were known to be weak; but when the cannon of the Sultan had made a breach, it was found that the Grand Master had erected a second and much stronger wall inside the other. The Turkish commander then had recourse to an attempt to poison D'Aubusson; but the emissaries who were commissioned to effect that object were

discovered and torn to pieces by the citizens. He then returned once more to Fort St. Nicholas, and renewed the attack. Day after day, and night after night, the heavy artillery of the Turks thundered against the walls, and the Janizaries rushed forward to the assault. The intrepid defenders, however, repulsed their assailants at every point, and forced them to retire with the loss of their best soldiers. The Pasha at length tried the effect of negotiation, and proposed an honourable capitulation. To this proposal many of the knights were inclined to listen, when they considered the vast numerical superiority of their assailants. But the Grand Master called them together, and thus spoke, "Gentlemen! if any one of you does not think himself in safety in this place, the fort is not so strictly blockaded, but what I can ensure his departure." To this address no reply was given, and the Grand Master added, "If you wish to remain amongst us, leave everything to me; I declare that I will cut off the head of the first man who shall speak of capitulation."

The vigour and decision of the brave D'Aubusson had their due effect. The knights, who only for a moment questioned the wisdom of holding out, defended the ramparts with renewed determination. It was well that they did so, for they had yet to endure the most formidable assault yet made upon them. Unperceived by the garrison, two thousand five hundred of the bravest of the Turks mounted the walls. As soon as it was discovered, the Grand Master hastened to the defence with his best and bravest soldiers. Prodigies of valour and heroism were performed on both sides, and at last the Turks gave way, and were driven back in irretrievable confusion. This terminated the siege of Rhodes; and the Ottoman troops, deprived of a large number of their most valuable men, and dispirited by their signal failure, soon after embarked to Constantinople.

While his forces were besieging Rhodes, the Sultan was still pursuing his conquests elsewhere. His army took possession of Cephalonia and Zante, and Achmet Pasha, one of the ablest generals of the age, was sent into Apulia, to open the way for further conquests in Italy, which it was evidently the Sultan's intention to attack immediately afterwards. The

castle and city of Otranto, the key to Italy, fell into the hands of Achmet, who, having fortified the place and provisioned it for eighteen months, left a strong garrison behind him, and marched back to Constantinople to ascertain the Sultan's pleasure, and make the requisite arrangements for the Italian campaign.

The terror which the capture of Otranto, and the well known intention of the Sultan to invade Italy, inspired is indescribable. It seemed in vain to attempt to oppose his fierce legions, who, it was believed, and not without reason, could with little difficulty overrun the whole of Italy. Pope Sixtus IV. therefore resolved to leave his capital, and take refuge from the storm beyond the Alps.

At this critical juncture, the King of Caramania, aided by the Shah of Persia, and the Egyptian Soldan, defeated Bajazet, Mohammad's eldest son, in a battle in Asia; and the Sultan delayed the attack upon Italy to a more convenient time, and marched into Asia to support his army, but died suddenly on his way to Nicomedia, A. D. 1481, in the fifty-first year of his age.

This celebrated monarch was brave, enterprising, sagacious, and possessed a considerable share of learning. His memory has always been revered by the Turks, who associate with his name the capture of Constantinople, and the complete establishment of their empire in Europe. His eminent qualities were, however, sullied by acts of the utmost cruelty, and although it is probable that the Christian historians may have drawn the picture in too glaring colours, and credited too hastily the accounts they furnish of his atrocity, there is reason to believe, that notwithstanding the brilliancy of his career, and the occasional instances of generosity, and even magnanimity which he exhibited, we cannot very greatly err in classing him among the most ruthless tyrants of the race of Othoman.

CHAPTER VIII.

Outline of the religious and civil constitutions of the Ottoman Empire—The Muftee—The Kaziasker—The Mollahs—The Imams—The Emirs—The 'Ulama, its power and origin—Monastic orders among the Mohammadans—Religious sects—Civil government—The Grand Vizier—The Kaimakan—The Defterdar—The Reis-éfendee—The Nissangi—The Teskereggi—The Begler-bey—The Pasha—The administration of civil law—Its defects—Anecdote—Administration of criminal law—Its defects—State of Education—Ignorance—Superstition, &c.

THE period to which this historical outline is now advanced, when, with the reduction of Constantinople, the power of the Ottoman Sultans is firmly established in Europe, seems not unsuited to the consideration of the civil and religious constitution of the empire. Before proceeding, therefore, to the events of succeeding reigns, we shall briefly consider those subjects, without a knowledge of which, the reader's acquaintance with the portion of European history with which we are occupied must be comparatively imperfect.

The Muslim faith has been already briefly described. We shall now consider the ecclesiastical offices recognised by the constitution of the empire. The supreme pontiff of the religion of Islám is the Muftee, who is called the Sheykh 'ul Islám,* a title which was conferred by Mohammad II. when he conquered Constantinople. This officer has a two-fold sovereign authority in all causes, religious and civil. His election depends on the Sultan, who chooses for this high

* "Sheykh" is an appellation which literally signifies "an elder," or an aged person. It is also commonly employed as synonymous with our appellation of "Mister," or that of the French Monsieur, and particularly it is applied to a learned man or a reputed saint. It is always a title of respect, and is never given to any but a Muslim. A "Muftee" is a doctor of the law, and The Muftee *per excellentiam*, is the chief doctor, or the prelate of Mohammadanism.

office a man distinguished for those qualities likely to be valuable to the public service. He receives his investiture from the Sultan's own hands, by whom, in token of his advancement, he is clothed with a robe of ermine, and presented with a thousand piastres in gold in a silver embroidered handkerchief. He possesses a large annual revenue, a magnificent palace, and a numerous and splendid court. He enjoys various important privileges. His property cannot be confiscated, but must, together with his office and palace, descend to his successor. The Muftee is the accredited oracle of Mohammadanism, both with reference to its civil and religious influences.

Next to the supreme office of the Muftee is that of the Kaziasker, a term which means *military judge*. There are two of these judges; the one exercises his jurisdiction in Roumelia, and the other in Natolia. Their power, however, which formerly was restricted to military questions, is now extended to causes of every kind. The office of Kaziasker qualifies the person who holds it to be promoted to the highest dignity —that of Muftee.*

The third order are the Mollahs, of which there are two classes; the first class possesses jurisdiction of the province of a Pasha of the highest rank, and of each Cadee or judge in that province. The second class are judges of inferior provinces, and have under their jurisdiction only the Cadees of small towns and villages. Each of these classes of Mollahs possess salaries proportioned to their dignity. In the Ottoman empire, no distinction is made between the offices of an expounder of the laws or of the religion of the state. The judges are therefore both Mohammadan ecclesiastics and lawyers, inasmuch as the law is based on the principles of the Kur-án. It may readily be understood that the grossest abuses may thus occur in the administration of justice, and of this history furnishes numerous examples.

The next order is that of the Khateeb or Imám. These

* The Turks have always been a military people, and all their institutions partake more or less of a military character. That the two chief judges next to the Muftee possess a title which means "judges of the army," is one out of many proofs of this.

are the superiors or superintendents of mosques. They are appointed by the Grand Vizier on the recommendation of the inhabitants of the district in which the mosque is situated. To qualify them for the office, little more is necessary than to be able to read the Kur-án distinctly, and to have performed the duty of the office of calling the people to prayers from the turrets of the mosque.

The last order to be referred to is that of the Emeer. This order, which is properly an ecclesiastical one, possesses many important privileges, among which may be mentioned that of carrying the standard of the Prophet in time of war. This duty is performed by a lieutenant-governor, who is under the chief of the Emeers. Under the head of ecclesiastical authorities may be mentioned the 'Ulama.* This body consists of three different classes, doctors of law, judges, and ministers of religion, and these are presided over by the Muftee. The authority of this college is very considerable. Like the priests under the Jewish theocracy, the 'Ulama are oracles of law and religion, and unite in themselves the combined authority of church and state, sharing with the Sultan the direct exercise of the legislative executive and judicial functions, and although he is an absolute monarch, controlling him in a very considerable degree. The decree of the 'Ulama is called the fetva, and this decree being founded on the interpretation of the Kur-án by the highest functionaries, the law thus declared possesses a degree of authority, to which even the Sultan himself must submit. The fetva, in a word, is a manifesto precisely analogous to the bull of the Pope of Rome, which, although originating in ecclesiastical authority, and deriving its power from the ignorance and superstition of those to whom it is addressed, has often been used for political purposes of the utmost importance. The origin of the council of the 'Ulama is sufficiently obvious. The Saracen Khaleefehs, to insure the prompt and cheerful obedience of their subjects, were accustomed to stamp all their decrees with the sanction of religion, assuring the obedient of rewards in a future state, and the disobedient of just retribution. The

* This word is the plural of 'álim, which signifies a man of science. European writers frequently use the plural instead of the singular.

princes of the house of Othoman adopted a similar policy, and obtained for their decrees, of whatever nature, the sanction of the Muftee and other interpreters of the Kur-án, who authoritatively declared the proceeding to be according to the will of the Prophet. The 'Ulama is an important part of the constitution of the Ottoman empire. It produces, although certainly in a rude and imperfect manner, somewhat of that balance of power so eminently valuable under free constitutions. Thus, for instance, the Sultan would become the mere creature of the Muftee, were it not for the influence which he, as the head of the state, exerts over the 'Ulama, each of whom looks forward to the dignified office of Muftee. This necessarily creates for the Sultan a counterpoise to the power of that minister, and controls him in the administration of his ecclesiastical authority. On the other hand, the 'Ulama are naturally desirous of preserving the power which they possess, and, exercising a certain kind and measure of authority even over the Sultan himself, the fetva is therefore indispensable to every political act; and hence, although the government of the empire is *in principle* a pure despotism, yet the 'Ulama operates in some degree, but altogether imperfectly, as a controlling power. Practically, however, it has seldom been able to withstand the authority of the Sultan. He may remove the Muftee at his will, and exile, imprison, or displace, the members of the 'Ulama, and this is a power which, it is plain, must be somewhat inimical to the exercise of freedom of judgment on the part of the Muftee and his coadjutors. Almost the only instance, indeed, in which they have succeeded in coercing or directing the sovereign are those on which they have been able to arouse the power of the Janizaries or the people, by an appeal to some universally known and venerated maxim of the superstition of which they are interpreters. Their authority, it must be admitted, has become much less dangerous in its consequences since the destruction of the Janizaries, and therefore offers less insuperable obstacles than in former ages to those projects of reform which the advance of European civilization demands as the means of establishing the Ottoman empire in the midst of those perils to which

it has been exposed, and which have had their birth in ignorance and superstition.

The Mohammadans of Turkey have, like the Roman and Greek Christians, their monasteries and different religious orders. To these only a brief reference is necessary. The monastic orders are numerous. The principal communities have been computed to be thirty-two. Their origin is very imperfectly known, and the accounts which are given by themselves are in many instances unworthy of credit. The earliest of these orders are supposed to have been instituted in the middle of the eighth century, and the latest in the middle of the twelfth. As to their tenets, they possess much in common, but many of them are immersed in the grossest ignorance and sensuality, some of the dervishes being addicted to the most degrading vices. It is remarkable, too, that those orders which sprung up in the thirteenth century hold the same doctrines as to the Divine Being as are at present propagated by the disciples of Spinosa—doctrines which had been long before professed by the Hindu and Persian mystics, and which are comprehended under the term pantheism.

The sects among the Mohammadans are still more numerous than the religious fraternities, being supposed to amount to seventy-two. The two principal sects, however, are those of Alee and Omar. In general, the Mohammadans of Turkey are the disciples of the latter, while those of Persia belong to the former. These two great divisions of the followers of "the Prophet" are inflamed with a violent antipathy towards each other, a feeling which has existed with greater or less intensity for more than a thousand years.

The schism arose from circumstances which it has hitherto been unnecessary to detail. "The Prophet" desired, beyond question, that the wise and amiable Alee should be his successor; but he was supplanted by Abubeker, who, as already stated, succeeded to the authority which Mohammad had founded. Alee, finding the desires of the Prophet disregarded, exhibited, nevertheless, the most exemplary moderation towards his enemies, and waited patiently, until, by the course of events, the death of Abubeker, who was advanced in years, should open to him a path to the throne of the

Saracens. At the decease of Abubeker, however, Alee again found himself ejected from what he justly regarded as his inheritance, by the election of Omar to the vacant Khaleefate. Omar was not content with the possession of the supreme authority with which he was invested, to the exclusion of Alee, whose claim was superior to his own; he sought, by every means he could devise, to persecute the followers of his competitor, and to weaken his authority. Alee was now driven to oppose the authority of his rival, and, by the interpretation which he gave to certain parts of the Kur-án, he branded Omar and his followers with heresy, and thereby gained a large accession to the number of his own disciples. Alee, after the death of Omar, ascended the throne, and continued so to persecute those who held the opinions, and professed to be the admirers of Omar, that a spirit of rivalship and animosity was awakened, which has never since ceased to exist. The Persians, among whom Alee first propagated his opinions, remained attached to his doctrines, while the Arabians continued to be the disciples of his predecessor. From these two sects a number of others have since arisen, but to refer particularly to their tenets and practices is altogether unnecessary.

Let us now direct our attention to the civil government of the Turkish empire. The highest office in the state, next to that of the Sultan, is that of Grand Vizier.* His power is unlimited; and his mandates, which are enforced by the authority of the great seal, which he always retains in his personal custody, meet with instant attention and obedience. This high office was originally instituted by Amurath II. to reward one of his generals who had taken the city of Hadrianople, and to whom it was necessary he should delegate sovereign authority. The Grand Vizier's court and suite are very numerous. Many hundreds of the officers and servants of his

* Weezeer is an Arabic term; but it is pronounced by the Turks with the letter "V," *i.e.* Veezeer or Vizier. Three derivations of this word may be stated. It may be derived from "wizr," *a burden*, because the Weezeer bears the burdens of the King; or from "wezer," *a refuge*, because the King takes refuge in the counsels of the minister so called; or from "azr," *strength*, because the prince is strengthened by the Weezeer.

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household attend him in the public procession to the divan.* He is a Pasha of three tails, and he possesses a large revenue, a great portion of which is derived from various imposts which have been instituted for his special advantage. The vast wealth which the Viziers have sometimes accumulated has not unfrequently led to their destruction, and the seizure of their treasures by the Sultan. The Vizier presides in the divan, which is both the supreme council of state, and, at the same time, the court of appeal from all the inferior tribunals. In this court the Sultan is present, behind a grated window, from which he can see and hear all that passes in the council. During the absence of the Grand Vizier with the army, his place is supplied by a provisional officer called the Kaimakan, whose authority ceases on the return of the prime minister. The other offices of state are those of the treasurer of the empire, the Defterdar; the Reis-éfendee, who is secretary of state and chancellor; the Nissangi, or keeper of the great seal; and the Teskeregi, or vice-chancellor. All these offices are of high authority and considerable emolument.

The government of the provinces is vested in the Begler-beys, Pashas, and Sanjaks, each of whom possesses a different degree of rank; and are distinguished by the number of horse-tails borne before them as ensigns or standards. Of these the Begler-beys have three, the Pashas generally two, and the Sanjaks one.† The Begler-beys possessed great wealth and authority, and ultimately, as will hereafter appear,

* The council composed of the chief ministers of the Sultan. The word is in Arabic, Deewan, which signifies the raised portion of the floor of an apartment, which is furnished with cushions; and by *senecdoche* it is applied to the meeting assembling in that place.

† The origin of this species of distinction does not seem to be well known. It is supposed by some to have been adopted from the Tartars. Others say that it arose from an expedient adopted by Abubeker, who, having lost a battle in Syria, and being abandoned by his troops, rallied his forces by means of the ingenuity of one of his officers, who, having no standard, cut off his horse's tail and attaching it to a pole, raised it aloft. The scattered troops perceiving it considered it a signal of some favourable turn in their affairs, and returned to their commander, attacking the enemy with renewed vigour, and defeating them; and that the signal has in consequence of this successful stratagem been ever since used by the Ottomans.

became objects of hostility to the Sultans, whose efforts were directed towards the suppression of their power.

The authority of the Pasha extends over the military force, the revenue, and the administration of justice. He leads the troops of the province as he is ordered by the Sultan, and has the command of them both in the camp and in the city. He collects the revenue, and transmits it to Constantinople; he administers justice in his own person; but he holds his office by a most precarious tenure. The Sultan can at any moment, in the exercise of his despotic power, exile, imprison, or put him to death; and this has frequently been the fate of the Pasha, whenever his royal master conceives his power to be too great, or his wealth becomes a sufficient temptation. The administration of civil justice in the Ottoman empire has been always exceedingly defective. The law is complex, and the four degrees of obligation which it recognises, according to the Kur-án, the precepts of the four Imáms, the acts of Mohammad, and the decisions of the learned, involve extreme difficulty and confusion. The Cadee, however, does not trouble himself with nice distinctions, or the careful following out of important precedents, but decides the point of law before him, as his own caprice or discretion may dictate.

Such a system must lead to great injustice, and great insecurity either to life or property; and necessarily must produce a most fatal influence on the national prosperity. And these results are certain to occur, when it is remembered not only that the decisions may be given in ignorance, or mistake, or with undue precipitancy, but that the judges are known to be utterly corrupt, and ready at all times to give their sentence in favour of the party who presents the largest bribe. The continuance of such a system speaks volumes as to the state of the Turkish empire, and whatever improvements may be effected, the condition of the courts of civil law must, until completely reformed, so as to render justice certain and easily attained, and to secure the fruits of industry to their possessors, operate as an effective barrier to national prosperity.

This dark picture is relieved by a few examples, in which

the judges were not wholly insensible to the nature of their office. One of these may be here stated. Mohammad II., to whose reign reference has just been made, employed an architect to erect a mosque. His purpose was, that the building should be as high as the mosque of Aya Sofiyah, the celebrated church which, on taking Constantinople, he had converted into a mosque. The architect, however, reduced the height of the magnificent columns which were to decorate the new building, which columns were of great value. On being charged by the Sultan with this error, the architect excused himself by saying, that he had reduced the columns two cubits each, to give the building more security in the event of one of those earthquakes not uncommon in Constantinople, and had thus made the mosque lower than Aya Sofiyah. The Sultan, however, not satisfied with the explanation, ordered the architect's hands to be struck off, which was instantly done.

The architect appeared on the following day with his family before the judge, laid his complaint against the Sultan, and appealed to the sentence of the law. The judge immediately sent his officer to summon the Sultan before him. The conqueror, on receiving the citation, exclaimed, "the command of the Prophet must be obeyed," and, putting on his mantle, and thrusting his mace into his belt, went to the court of law. After offering the usual salutation, the Sultan was about to seat himself, when the Cadee said, "Sit not down, O prince, but stand up with thine adversary who has appealed to the law." The architect then preferred his complaint; "My Lord, I am a perfect master-builder, and a skilful mathematician; but this man, because I made his mosque low and cut down two of his columns, has mutilated me of both hands, which has ruined me, and deprived me of the means of supporting my family; it is thy part to pronounce the sentence of the law." The judge then addressed the Sultan, "What sayest thou, prince; hast thou caused this man's hands to be cut off innocently?" The Sultan admitted the charge, but required the judge to pronounce the sentence of the law. The judge, after having stated that if

the architect required the law to be rigidly enforced, his (the Sultan's) hands should be cut off; and as he had deprived the architect of the means of his livelihood, sentenced him to support him and his family. The Sultan then offered to give the man a pension from the public treasury, but the judge declared that as the Sultan himself had committed the offence, he must be at the expense, and ordered him to pay ten aspers a day. The Sultan immediately said, let it be twenty aspers. The architect was fully satisfied, and the Sultan received a certificate of his entire acquittal. The Cadee then apologised to the monarch for treating him as an ordinary suitor, pleading the rigid impartiality of the law, which required justice to be equally administered to all without distinction, and entreated the Sultan to seat himself on the sacred carpet. "Effendi," said the Sultan, somewhat irritated, and drawing his mace from under his robe, "if thou hadst shown favour to me, saying to thyself, this is the Sultan, and hadst wronged the architect, I would have broken thee to pieces with this mace!"

The administration of criminal justice has long been no less defective than that of civil law. In the four hundred years which have elapsed since Constantinople fell into the hands of the Ottoman monarchs, hundreds of thousands of innocent persons have been put to death, not only by the Sultans, but by the inferior officers of state, without even the appearance of a trial, and in many instances after a trial, which has been a cruel and infamous mockery. Instances of this kind are literally innumerable,* and are often so atrocious, that it is impossible to read them without indignation and amazement. The irresponsible power of life and death seemed to reside in the hands of the most ignorant and most brutal of the people. In Constantinople, the police in making their rounds frequently put persons to death for trifling offences, and without any sufficient attempt even to fix the crime on the unhappy sufferer. A slight disturbance in which a person may be seized, was sufficient to subject the real or supposed

* The reader will find himself fully satisfied on this subject, by consulting Eton, Slade, Walsh, and almost every writer of credit.

culprit to instant decapitation; the spectator may thus be destroyed instead of the actual rioter. The shedding of the blood of an innocent person, and the consequent desolation and misery inflicted, and the discouragement and injury done to the cause of industry, have thus appeared to be of no moment in the view of the Sultan and his advisers, in their deplorable ignorance of those principles on which the prosperity of a nation must, in a great measure, always depend, viz., the security of the virtuous, and the certain punishment of the vicious, in a manner perfectly impartial, and at the same time proportioned to their crimes, and fitted to correct and reform those who are tempted to commit them.

Innumerable instances are on record which sufficiently attest the accuracy of the statements now made. Without referring to more than one period, the year 1828 affords abundant evidence. When the Russian general marched to Hadrianople, an insurrection was expected on the part of those who were favourable to the Russian claims; and the Sultan resolved to anticipate any such movement by prompt measures. His officers were sent round the city to put to death suspected persons, and hundreds suffered without even the form of a trial. The summary manner in which these executions were conducted, and the absence of all evidence of guilt, afford an unquestionable proof that the Ottoman Empire has, notwithstanding the improvements of other states of Europe, remained immersed in the darkness and barbarity of past ages.

Referring to these executions among the humbler ranks, an intelligent traveller thus speaks—"One of the first and most pitiable cases was that of the master of a fashionable caféné near the fish-market, in which the conspirators used to hold their meetings. This poor wretch, who probably had no idea that the act of selling coffee to a conspirator made him one, nor conceived it the duty of a correct publican to make a distinction of customers, was buying vegetables at a stall, when he was accosted by the guard, and having answered the usual interrogatory—"What is your name?" made to kneel, and decapitated on the spot, where he had

been providing for his supper, it being conveniently situated for publicity. None showed commiseration or made any remark, none dared—the least display of feeling entailing death. The most active search was made for the accused, who, without warning or trial, wherever they were found, were instantly beheaded. The process was very simple. "Are you so and so, Hassan, or Achmet, or Sadik?" "True, I am Achmet, what do you want?" "We want your head; kneel down without disturbance." "Oh, this is a mistake! I am not the man. You mean another Achmet." "You are the man; and we are looking for a certain Achmet with a long nose and large eyes. You have a long nose and large eyes, and are called Achmet. Therefore, you must be the man!" The miserable victim then exclaims—"I protest this is a calumny! I pray you go elsewhere! I am not the man! By the Prophet! by my father's beard! by my soul! I swear I am innocent!" Thus protesting, his head is struck off, and his body left where it falls, with the sentence laid on the breast, and a stone on it to prevent it from being blown away.

The author just quoted mentions his having been present at one of these summary executions, the account of which we shall here give in his own words:—"Into this place two men stepped from the body of the guard—the one old and ugly, and meanly dressed; the other young and handsome, and richly attired in the old costume. The office of the former was not doubtful, by the long ataghan in his hand; the other by his firm step and the unconcerned air with which he glanced around, might have passed for the provost marshall, had not his manner soon announced that he was destined to act a more important part; and he knew it, for he at once knelt down without prompting, and suffered his thumbs to be tied behind him with a piece of string, that he might not involuntarily interfere with the operation. The executioner then took off his turban, tied up Mohammad's lock, and adjusted the denounced head in the most favourable position for displaying his skill, desiring its owner to hold it steady. So peculiarly adapted is the eastern costume, having

no collars, to the despatch of head-cutting, as to make it probable that it was originally adopted by slavish courtiers as symbolic of their necks being always ready. This preparation did not occupy two minutes, during which it was uncertain which of the two shewed the greatest coolness. Drawing then his ataghan, the executioner held it up in the act to strike, and in this position recited the offence with which the prisoner was supposed to be guilty. It was an awful picture, a moment of breathless excitement to all but the two actors, one of whom, the most interested, appeared the most careless. Being close to him, I watched him narrowly, but could not perceive the slightest change in his florid countenance, or a tremor on his fine limbs, and both at such a crisis would have been pardonable on the boldest. Having heard his crime, he cried with a firm voice, 'O Mohammad, I die innocent! to thee I consign my soul!' He repeated these words, with some others to the same purport, when the finisher of the law impatiently demanded, 'Are you ready?' The gallant fellow with energy of tone instantly answered 'Ready!' A moment after, his head, struck off at a blow, was rolling in the dust. The blood instantaneously gushed out of the body; the neck slightly palpitated; life vanished with the rapidity of a thought. The savage who performed the deed cleaned his blade on the corpse's clothes, then held it up in the rays of the sun; but seeing some stains upon it, again wiped it before resheathing it. He then disposed the body *secundum artem;* an assistant washed away the blood; the crowd silently dispersed; and Hassan was left where he fell."*

It sometimes happens that, in order to awe the minds of foreigners, the celerity of Turkish justice is intentionally displayed. On one occasion a Russian minister complained to the Vizier of an outrage committed on persons under his protection. The Vizier made a horizontal sign to his attendants, and before the short conference was closed, seven heads were rolled on the floor before the face of the Russian. On another occasion the English ambassador was witness to the consequence of this fatal motion of the hand, in a conference he

* Slade's Records of Travels.

had with the Vizier; when he rose to go away, he saw several heads newly put up at the gate of the palace.

In the provinces this function of the government is exercised with still greater injustice than even in the capital. On hearing a report of banditti, a pasha sends out a number of horsemen, and orders them to bring the heads of the offenders, for each of which they are to receive a reward. The persons thus commissioned, as may be presumed, do not always succeed in discovering the criminals, but they never fail to bring in the stipulated number of heads. Such persons in a village as are unknown, a traveller or a beggar, on falling in with these ruthless cavalry, are certain to lose their lives, and thus hundreds of innocent persons perish, while the guilty escape.

Defective as the administration of civil and criminal law must thus be admitted to be, it is not more injurious in its consequences than the regulations which were for ages in operation as to finance and commerce. A few remarks will afford evidence of this.

Than finance, it may be truly affirmed, there is scarcely any part of the administration of the internal affairs of a state which demands greater wisdom and sagacity; and although the levying of a large annual revenue is always desirable, yet the manner in which it is levied is of higher importance to the state, and affords a much surer test of political ability and comprehensive foresight in the legislator than even the successful raising of a large revenue. Nor does this require much explanation. An amount of annual income may for a long succession of years be raised, which is more than equal to the exigencies of the state, but it may be raised by an undue pressure upon the springs of national wealth and prosperity—viz., the industry and the enterprise of the productive labourer. A period of national prosperity, arising from favourable harvests or other circumstances, may render it easy to raise that revenue without the exercise of any sagacity as to the mode. But as certain as taxation presses unduly on enterprise and persevering industry, so certainly will it tend to dry up the springs of national wealth, and national weakness and deterioration become the inevitable consequences.

The system of taxation in the Turkish Empire has for a long period of time been such as to produce these results. There were three great taxes—the land tax, the tax on personal property, and the poll-tax. The first of these was a tenth or a fifth of the produce of the land; the second was estimated arbitrarily, and might be about one-fourth of all the profits made by the tradesman; and the third consisted of a sum of from four to twelve piastres, payable by persons who have attained the age of twelve years.

Now each of these classes of imposts was highly oppressive and injurious. It is obvious, as to the two first, that as the amount to be paid depended on the amount produced by the tillage of the lands, or by the successful prosecution of business, the agriculturist and the tradesman were both discouraged from expending capital or ingenuity or labour to produce a large return, since the chief reward which could stimulate them so to do was withdrawn; and when the uncertainties both of farming and business are considered, the demand of ten per cent on the produce is amply sufficient to constitute a prohibition against the production of more than is absolutely requisite for the necessities of existence. Nor was the poll-tax less burdensome than the two others just referred to. A certain district was estimated as capable of yielding a certain sum, and the collector was made answerable with his head, if that sum were not forthcoming. The liability to the poll-tax was ascertained, not by actual age, but by measurement, and this mode of deciding the question was such as always to solve it in favour of the collector. This tax, and that on personal property, were farmed in Greece by the Pashas, to persons who were themselves Greeks, and whose oppression and extortion were ruinous. In cases in which either the population or the wealth of any district diminished, the remaining inhabitants were forced to make up the sum which the district was estimated to produce, while the various collectors took care to enrich themselves, and thus "the people were the prey of a subordination of vultures."*

* See Eton's "Survey of the Turkish Empire." See also "Establishment of the Turks in Europe," an admirable view of the subject, understood to be from the pen of Lord John Russell. Lond. 1828.

The oppression thus exercised may be conceived in some measure, when it is recollected that the power of farming the revenue was disposed of by public sale, and generally purchased by the Pashas of provinces. It is obvious that it became the interest of the Pasha so farming the tax to obtain as large a sum as possible, both to repay his own purchase-money, to make the requisite return to Government, and to fill his own exchequer; and as if to meet the necessity thus in fact forced upon him, there was a tax called avaniah, the amount of which depended wholly on his own will, and, in fact, had no other limit than his own compassion might assign to it. But that the officer of a government, itself possessed of no accurate views on the subject of finance, would exhibit intelligence, moderation, and compassion in collecting a revenue, to obtain which so many powerful motives combined to urge him—such as the possession of wealth on the one hand, and the fear of death on the other—no man who is at all acquainted with the constitution of the human mind will be weak enough to believe. The Pashas accordingly sent into distant provinces exerted to the utmost their power of extortion, but were always outdone by the officers immediately below them, who, in turn, left room for the ingenuity of their subordinate agents; and the circle was only completed by the power of the despot, who from time to time squeezed into his own coffers the sponge with which this herd of plunderers had absorbed the property of the people.*

The commercial polity of the state was no less oppressive, and no less clear, as an evidence of the gross ignorance which prevailed in Turkey on the subject of commercial matters, and the necessity of encouraging industry. The internal trade of the country had long been subject to the most injurious restrictions. Corn was the monopoly of the state, the grower being obliged to convey his produce to Constantinople, and sell it for less than its value, in order to swell the Sultan's revenue, or gratify the rapacity of the minister. The native merchant, too, paid a duty of double the amount paid by the foreign trader, so that the subjects of the state were dis-

* Eton's Survey, p. 51.

couraged not only by the heavy duty they themselves had to pay, but by the necessarily successful opposition of foreigners.*

From all these circumstances, it is not wonderful that tens of thousands of fertile acres, capable of producing all kinds of crops, remained without cultivators, and that a country so extensive as Turkey in Europe possesses but a comparatively small population; while it cannot but be obvious that, notwithstanding the important measures of a public kind which the late Sultan Mahmoud introduced, and which have conferred great advantages, a vast amount of reform is still required—the produce, not of a few, but of a long period of years—before any system can be fully established, which shall raise the Ottoman Empire to a level with other states of Europe in mercantile and agricultural prosperity. All the commercial arts are founded upon a regard to interest, and their encouragement is the hope of gain, and the secure possession of that gain. They must languish, if not become extinct, where the expectation of success is small, and where the tenure of property is precarious.

Such is an outline of the vicious system under which the Turkish Empire has for many ages been oppressed. Many admirable attempts, however, have been made, in recent years, to remedy a state of manners so highly injurious. These arrangements, however, belong to the history of the present age, and will be referred to in a succeeding chapter.

The state of education in the Turkish empire demands a brief notice in connection with the preceding outline. With scarcely any exception, all writers of credit agree in their opinions as to the gross ignorance prevailing generally among the people; but had we no such testimony on which to rely, abundant evidence would be found to that effect in the injurious nature of those arrangements to which reference has just been made; for it cannot but be presumed that the ignorance which the rulers of the country have exhibited in their institutions is likely to prevail still more remarkably among the mass of the population.

* Eton states that the duty paid by foreigners was, when he wrote, three per cent, and that levied on native merchants varied from five to seven, and even ten per cent.—*Survey*, p. 52.

All historians agree in their admiration of the wise and liberal patronage which literature and science received from the most illustrious of the Saracen Khaleefehs, and from the celebrated family of the Barmecides, and the most famous member of that family, the noble and generous Grand Vizier Jaafar. To the Mohammadans of the East, moreover, it cannot be forgotten that we owe the invention of algebra; and that to those of Spain, Western Europe was indebted, as already stated, for the knowledge of many of the most valuable works of classic ages. The reign of Haroun Er Rasheed was the Augustan age of Arabian literature; and it is not a little remarkable, that in causes similar to those which produced what are called the dark ages in Europe, when the light of knowledge suffered an almost total eclipse, originated the gradual decline of the literature and science of the Saracens. The Turkish tribes which overran the Saracen dominions in Asia ministered to the rapid declension of Arabian literature, very much in the same manner as the northern nations who migrated into the Roman Empire obliterated the literature of Greece and Rome.

But it has not unfrequently happened that those nations which have conquered others have adopted those peculiar advantages which the vanquished people enjoyed, in the same manner as the Romans themselves adopted the literature and science of the Greeks. The Turks, however, have remained, from the long period which has elapsed since they completed the conquest of the Greek Empire, almost in the same condition as when they originally issued from the wilds of Tartary. The period of the revival of letters, which exercised so powerful an influence on other nations, has produced little or no effect upon them; and, holding in contempt the sciences, the literature, and the arts, in which contemporary nations have made such vast advances, they remain far in the rear in the march of improvement, the representatives of the darkest and most barbarous periods in the history of mankind.

These remarks might be illustrated by innumerable authentic anecdotes. Before the appearance of a Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, the ministers of the Sultan would not

believe it possible for them to approach Constantinople but by way of the Black Sea; and when the Turkish admiral was appealed to, he affirmed that it was possible for them to come from Russia through the Gulf of Venice.* A very few years ago the Turkish admiral asked one of our captains if he understood the use of the compass, professing that as for himself he was ignorant of it.† Baron de Tott, on one occasion having to confer with the chief of the Turkish geometricians, asked them how many right angles were in any triangle; and after due deliberation, the reply made to his inquiry was, that the number depended on the size of the triangle. These instances of ignorance would be incredible if they were not authenticated beyond doubt, and if, in fact, they might not be presumed to be true from the ignorance displayed in the judicial and mercantile institutions of the empire. What must be the condition of the common people in a country where men who ought to be able to perceive the value of education are content to remain so grossly deficient!

Let us look, for example, at the popular notions regarding the universe. On the authority of the Kur-án, the most puerile absurdities are believed as to the earth and the heavens. The earth is supposed not to have a globular form, but to be a plane expanse, and the islands and continents are believed to be surrounded by "the circumambient ocean," beyond which the ultimate limits are formed by the mountains of Kaf, which surround the whole earth, and which mountains are formed, according to the interpreters of the Kur-án, of green chrysolite, which imparts the greenish tint sometimes observable in the sky. The limits of the earth are, according to "the Prophet," equal to a journey of five hundred years; and the inhabited portion of it, with respect to the rest, like a tent in the midst of the desert.‡ These notions, and others as to astronomy no less absurd, are entertained more or less by the mass of the people. "From the Muftee to the peasant," observes the author already quoted, "it is generally

* Eton's Survey, p. 193.
† Lord John Russell, "Historical Discourse," p. 108.
‡ Lane, vol. i. p. 18, *et seq.*

believed that there are seven heavens from which the earth is immovably suspended by a chain—that the sun is a ball of fire as large as a province of the Ottoman empire, and formed for the sole purpose of giving light and heat to the earth; and that eclipses of the moon are occasioned by a great dragon attempting to devour that luminary." *

It will not be considered surprising that belief in astrology and in magic almost universally prevails. Before the siege of Constantinople an astrologer was required to ascertain, by consulting the stars, the day most likely to be propitious. This, however, was not an uncommon practice in the middle of the fifteenth century; but a firm belief in the value of astrological divinations still prevails among the Turks, and even among some of those of high rank, as strongly as ever. The pseudo-science of astrology is in fact studied at the present day by many Muslims, and is had recourse to among the Turks, in order to determine the most propitious time for the commencement of any new undertaking, and great importance is attached to omens, to dreams, and to the wearing of talismans.† Innumerable instances of superstition as to dreams or omens might be collected from Turkish history. The first words which a Sultan speaks immediately after his accession are looked upon as of a prophetic character. When Amurath the Third, on being acknowledged Sultan, stated that after his stormy journey to Constantinople he was hungry—a very natural consequence—his words were held to indicate an approaching famine, and, what is not a little singular, the prediction was almost immediately verified. The death of the same Sultan was hastened by the omen of the breaking of a pane of glass near the sofa on which he reclined; another Sultan, Solyman the Magnificent, raised the siege of an island in the Mediterranean which he would certainly have taken, because a shower of hail occurred at an unpropitious moment.

A very recent and trustworthy traveller thus expresses himself:—"Perhaps one of the greatest foibles in the character of the Turk is his superstition. It seems to be a part

* Eton's Survey, p. 191. † See Lane's Notes on Magic, vol. i. p. 65.

of his very nature—an inheritance he derived from his shepherd ancestors. We find it pervading all classes, from the peasant to the Sultan; and although the Kur-án denounces astrology as a crime only inferior to idolatry, the Sultan retains in his household a muned-jimbashi, or chief astrologer. Amulets are still worn by every true Osmanli; indeed, their manufacture constitutes a most profitable employment to thousands of ingenious artizans, and their sale a source of large revenue to the priests, who consecrate them. They are made in every form, to suit every purchaser, and, as may be supposed, are believed to be a safeguard against every danger. Every house has one suspended over the door; the shepherd attaches them to his flock, the merchant to his bale of goods, the equestrian to the neck of his charger, the soldier wears one about his person to protect him from the bullet of the enemy, the fair dame to increase her embonpoint, and make her fruitful, and the whole of the men, women, and children wear one to shield them from the effect of the 'evil eye,' the witch and the sorcerer."*

These remarks furnish a sufficient indication of the state of education in the Turkish Empire. Within the last few years most important and valuable plans, to which reference will be more fully made in a subsequent chapter, have been projected for the enlightenment of the people, and much may undoubtedly be effected by a comprehensive system, united with a wise and liberal policy towards all the subjects of the Ottoman rule without exception. But the progress of national enlightenment is always gradual, and therefore always slow. Prejudices which have gained strength in the course of centuries have to be overcome, habits of thought inimical to solid improvement have to be repudiated, and usages which become inveterate, have to be laid aside. Even a whole age is not a period sufficiently lengthened to overcome the difficulty thus arising; and even the most sanguine advocate of human improvement will not be able to entertain the hope that great advances can be made before the lapse of a very lengthened series of years, even if there should

* Turkey and Russia, by Captain Spencer. Lond. 1854.

not exist in the Turkish mind, as some are disposed to think, a permanent and native incapacity for literary and mechanical improvement—a condition analogous, in some measure, to that which has been presumed to constitute the reason why, in the American continent, where the Saxon races have introduced the arts of civilized life, the primitive inhabitants retain unchanged the character which they possessed before the ships of Columbus discovered the shores of the New World.

CHAPTER IX.

The Christian Church in Turkey—The Monophysites—The Nestorians The Greek Church — Equality originally subsisting between the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Bishop of Rome—Causes leading to the assumption of supremacy — Honours conferred on the Patriarch of the imperial city under Constantine the Great—Division of the Roman Empire between his sons — Extension of the jurisdiction of the Patriarch, and its confirmation by the Council of Chalcedon—Dissensions between the Greek and Latin Churches—Attempts to unite them—Zeno's "Decree of Union"—Its effects—Jealousy of the Roman Pontiff—Charge of heresy against him by the Greek Patriarch—Excommunication of the latter by the former Further efforts to reconcile the two Churches—The councils of Ferrara and Florence—Their efforts in vain—Prediction of Pope Nicholas V. fulfilled—View of the territory subject to the jurisdiction of Greek Church—Doctrines of that Church—How far in accordance with those of Rome—Service of the Greek Church—The Greek Church in Russia—Condition of Greek Church under the Ottoman Sultans—Disabilities of the Greek clergy and laity.

THE final subversion of the Greek Empire by the Turks was immediately followed by the establishment of the faith of Mohammad throughout the Ottoman dominions. In the Asiatic provinces over which the Sultan reigned, Christianity had continued to lose ground from year to year, and with the last conquests in Asia Minor its light may be said to have been all but extinguished. The fall of Constantinople completed the series of calamities to which the Christian Church had been long exposed, and inflicted upon her a blow from which she has never since recovered. A large majority of the European subjects of the Sultan remained, it is true, faithful to the sacred cause of Christianity; but to maintain that cause amidst the persecution and insults of their fierce and

relentless conquerors, and to stem the torrent of barbarism, ignorance, and superstition that rushed in with their triumphant arms, the Christians possessed neither resources nor influence.

At the period of the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in Europe, the Christian Church had become divided into various communities. Besides the Greek Church, which comprehended the majority of the Sultan's subjects on the western side of the Bosphorus, there were other churches in more distant parts of the empire differing from it more or less in doctrine. Without attempting to describe the peculiarities of each of those communities of Christians, it will be sufficient to refer to the most important.

The Monophysite Christians, who were called Jacobites, from the name of Jacobus Baradæus, by whose influence the sect was resuscitated in the sixth century, were those who, as their distinguishing name implies, held that in our Lord Jesus Christ there was but one nature. This sect prevailed extensively in the African and Asiatic provinces of the Ottoman Empire—the former division of that church, embracing the Coptic Christians of Nubia and Abyssinia, being subject to a patriarch of Alexandria, whose residence was in Cairo, and the latter being under the jurisdiction of a patriarch residing in some of the cities of Syria, as Damascus or Aleppo, and assisted in the management of his wide jurisdiction by a bishop or primate at Mosul in Mesopotamia. The Armenian Church may be included under the denomination of Monophysite, although distinct from those Christians called Jacobites in ritual observances, and in some of its views. This church was superintended by a primate whose residence is in Etchmiadzin in Armenia, and under whom are about forty bishops in the provinces over which his authority extends. An Armenian bishop, who by courtesy obtained the title of patriarch, also resided at Constantinople, and exercised his jurisdiction over the members of his church in Europe.

The Nestorian Church constituted another large community of Christians in the dominions of the Sultan. It was so called from its founder Nestorius, who was condemned for

heresy at the council of Ephesus, and whose doctrine as to the Divine Redeemer was, that in him were not only two natures, but likewise two persons. At the period of the fall of Constantinople, this church remained under the jurisdiction of one patriarch, who resided at Baghdad or Mosul. Under this church may be included the Nestorians of Arabia, and those inhabiting the coast of Malabar, who are known as the Christians of St. Thomas.

The most important community of Christians in the dominions of the Sultan was that of the Greek Church, and the very important effects which that church has produced, and which it may continue to produce, in the course of events in Turkey, renders it desirable to refer to its history somewhat more particularly than to that of the Christian communities to which reference has just been made.

Up to the beginning of the fourth century, a certain degree of pre-eminence in the Christian Church was possessed by the Bishops of Rome, of Antioch, and of Alexandria. Constantine the Great, however, the first Emperor of Rome who embraced Christianity, having created four pretorian prefects over as many divisions of his empire, being desirous to associate the spiritual administration of the Christian bishops with the civil authority of his own deputies, added to the three prelates now mentioned the Patriarch of Constantinople, thus making the number correspond with that of the prefects. Each of these bishops was wholly independent of the others, and in the exercise of their spiritual authority none of them arrogated any claims to power which the others did not equally possess, although it must be admitted that to the Bishop of Rome there was accorded a certain indeterminate pre-eminence—a pre-eminence, however, wholly unaccompanied by superior authority, and naturally arising, not only from the circumstance that the seat of his government was the imperial city of Rome itself, but from his great superiority in wealth over his brethren, and from the influence arising from the splendour as well as the extent of his religious administration. Up to this period, the causes which led to the division of the church into that of the east and west, can scarcely be said to have existed.

It was not long, however, before circumstances arose which issued in a permanent separation of the Catholic Church into two great bodies, possessed of separate jurisdiction and distinctive features in doctrine, discipline, and worship. To these circumstances it is requisite briefly to advert.

When the Emperor Constantine removed the seat of his government to Byzantium, he endeavoured by every means within his reach to render the city worthy of the high honour to which it was advanced. The new metropolis was not only dignified by the name of Constantinople, *i. e.* the city of Constantine, but was known by the title of Nova Roma. It was enriched and adorned by its imperial master with various rights, privileges, and honours, in addition to many magnificent edifices, such as became the capital of his dominions. It was scarcely possible for the dignitaries of the church to avoid sharing in the honours which the emperor so amply conferred on the city of his choice. The patriarch accordingly conceived himself entitled to assume a degree of eminence equal at least to that accorded to the Roman prelate, and for similar reasons. Nor did the emperor express his disapproval of pretensions which seemed by no means inconsistent with the dignity to which his new seat of empire had been elevated.

On the death of Constantine A.D. 336, the empire was divided between his sons. Constantius succeeded to the sovereignty of the eastern, and Constantine and Constans to that of the western portion of their father's dominions, and although on the assassination of Constans, Rome and Italy, and a large portion of the western empire, reverted to Constantius, the separation of the empire into two sovereignties tended to establish the pretensions of the Bishops of Constantinople and Rome, and to give birth, it may be added, to a spirit of rivalry. Each claimed to be, if not the principal ecclesiastical personage in the church, at least on a level in point of eminence and dignity with the other.

The Patriarchs of Constantinople were, however, by no means contented with a nominal claim to dignity and power equal to that of their brother prelates of Rome, and the celebrated Chrysostom, the second Bishop of Constantinople, who

enjoyed the new honour conferred by the emperor, lost no opportunity of adding to the authority of his see, while the Roman Pontiff made the most vigorous efforts to arrest the rapid and obvious increase of the rival authority. The council of Constantinople, which was assembled by the Emperor Theodosius A.D. 381, to consider and determine upon the heresy of the Macedonians, and which was attended by one hundred and fifty prelates, advanced the bishop of the imperial city to the first rank after the Bishop of Rome, and thus in a great degree gave effect to the ambitious efforts of the eastern pontiffs. The encouragement thus received could not fail to add to their ambition, and before the middle of the fifth century they had reduced under their spiritual jurisdiction the whole provinces of Asia, as well as those of Thrace, Pontus, and Illyricum. The jurisdiction thus assumed was solemnly confirmed by the council of Chalcedon, assembled by the Emperor Marcian A.D. 451, by whose decree it was farther ordained that the same rights and honours which had been conferred on the Bishop of Rome were due to the Bishop of Constantinople, on account of the equal dignity and importance of the two cities in which those prelates exercised their authority.

The reader of ecclesiastical history is aware of the numerous deplorable dissensions and contests which had hitherto tended to rend asunder the Christian Church. These it is not necessary to our purpose to describe; it need only be added that, with the laudable desire of terminating the unhappy disputes thus arising, and of bringing about a unity of doctrine in the church, the Emperor Zeno, with the aid of the Constantinopolitan Bishop, published A.D. 482 his famous decree of union. This measure, however, conceived in so excellent and praiseworthy a spirit, so far from accomplishing the object in view, acted only as oil upon the fire of polemical strife already raging, and Felix II., the Roman Pontiff, having assembled an Italian council, pronounced the sentence of excommunication against the Bishop of Constantinople, whom he regarded with extreme abhorrence, on account of his successful efforts to add to the prerogatives and authority of

his see, and thus excluded all the congregations attached to the eastern patriarchate from ecclesiastical communion with the Church of Rome.

The violent separation thus made between the churches of the east and west was, it is true, followed by an act of reunion about forty years afterwards A.D. 519; but circumstances in succeeding ages continued to arise which at length terminated in a final separation. The extent of the Greek and Latin churches, and consequently the power of their supreme pontiffs, continued to increase. On the one hand, various causes contributed to the growth of the Papal authority. Among these causes may be mentioned the declining power, the indolence and the absence of the emperors, which permitted the increase of the civil authority of the pontiff, and the incursions of the barbarians into the provinces of the Roman Empire, who, desirous of consolidating their dominions, paid their court to the Roman hierarchy, and submitted to their demands as one important means of accomplishing their object. On the other hand, events were not wanting to contribute to the extension of the power of the Patriarch of Constantinople; as, for instance, the addition of the newly converted tribes beyond the civil jurisdiction of the emperors of Rome. These circumstances inflamed the jealousy with which the rival pontiffs regarded each other, and completed the antagonism already sufficiently apparent. In the middle of the ninth century, Photius, the haughty and ambitious Bishop of Constantinople, added to his see the province of Bulgaria, for the acquisition of which the utmost exertions had been made by the Roman Pontiff Nicholas; but, not content with this triumph, he charged the Latin Church with heretical conduct, such as the insertion of unscriptural additions to the creed respecting the procession of the Holy Ghost; the alteration of the usages of the ancient church in forbidding the marriage of priests; the repetition of chrism; the observation of Saturday by fasting, as the Hebrew Sabbath; and, in particular, the assumption of the sovereignty of all Christendom, and the consequent treatment of the Greek patriarchs as inferior in rank. The Roman Pontiff, already bitterly chagrined by the failure of

his own schemes for the spiritual conquest of the province of Bulgaria, was rendered furious by the charges thus made; and, exerting all the influence of which he was master, succeeded in excommunicating his adversary, procuring his deposition from the patriarchate, and his banishment to Armenia. Photius died in exile, but the event did not tend to the restoration of peace and concord. The Roman Pontiffs remained regardless of moderation and equity. Demanding the degradation of all the bishops and priests who had been ordained by the deposed Photius, they shocked the Greeks by their arrogance, and revived the spirit of resentment which might otherwise have subsided, and thus gave birth to new controversies, and rendered the prospects of union more remote than before.

Subsequently to this period many efforts were made to bring about a reconciliation, and it was unquestionably the interest of both parties to accomplish that object. The Pope, on the one hand, desired it as an addition to his already wide jurisdiction; and the Greek emperors looked forward to it as a means of inducing the western powers to aid them against the encroachments of the Mohammadan sovereigns. Neither church, however, would yield to the other, and the interval between them became wider; for the Greek Church retained its creed as arranged by John of Damascus, and adhered to its ancient constitutions, while the Latin Church underwent peculiar modifications under Gregory VII. In 1204, the conquest of Constantinople by the French crusaders and the Venetians, exposed the Greek Church to the oppression of the papal legates, and rendered the prospect of a cordial union still more remote; and although the Emperor Michael II., on reconquering the imperial city in 1261, consented to recognise the Pope's supremacy, and, along with some of the Greek clergy, abjured the points of doctrine which had perpetuated the schism, yet the majority of the church continued opposed to the step he had taken; and, on the excommunication of the emperor by Pope Martin IV., a council held in 1283 and 1285 by the Greek bishops, restored their repudiated doctrines, and, with them, their state of separation from the Church of Rome.

It only remains to refer to the last effort made to unite the contending parties. The extreme peril in which the feeble remnant of the Greek Empire was placed by the increasing power of the Turks pressed upon the mind of the Emperor the necessity of some accommodation likely to procure that military aid he so much required. Accordingly, in 1438, a council was assembled at Ferrara, and in the succeeding year another was held at Florence, and the Greek Emperor resolved, at whatever sacrifice, to accomplish his design. After a prolonged discussion, in which great learning and eloquence were displayed on both sides, a common confession of faith was adopted as to those matters of doctrine and practice which had hitherto been causes of dissension. This apparently propitious arrangement was immediately followed by a treaty on the part of the Pope to supply a certain number of armed galleys for the defence of the imperial city, and to use his utmost efforts, if called upon, to procure the aid of the western princes and their armies. These arrangements were completed in 1439, and were hailed with joyful acclamations by the delegates of both churches, who supposed that the divisions which had continued for centuries were now for ever terminated.

On the completion of the union thus brought about, the Greek prelates set forth on their return, in the earnest hope, doubtless, that the result of their efforts would be hailed with satisfaction by their fellow-countrymen. Never was an expectation more miserably disappointed. Instead of being received with gratitude, and lauded for a degree of success so likely to conduce to the public safety, they were loaded with reproaches; insults of every kind were heaped upon them; they were called traitors and apostates; the sanctuaries they entered were deserted as if their presence were contamination; they were shunned as if under the ban of excommunication. The controversy which they hoped to conclude was renewed with tenfold acerbity. The Patriarchs of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, joining in the opposition, met in synod, and deposed all the clergy who had received ordination from the Patriarch of Constantinople, the active instrument in the arrangements they detested, and threatened to

excommunicate them if they persisted in giving those arrangements their support; and, to add to the confusion and difficulty, the clergy of the northern provinces of the Greek Church in Russia and Muscovy loudly declared against the union with Rome, and not only insulted but imprisoned the legate who was sent to publish it among them. The imminence of the danger which threatened Constantinople, and the prospect of aid which seemed to arise, were alike ineffectual. No consideration seemed capable of allaying the wild frenzy of bigotry, and every year beheld the increase of the rancour by which the contending parties were animated.

The Roman Pontiff, Nicholas V., seemed now to abandon all expectation of a union; but it remained to make one more effort. Having engaged in some earnest endeavours to rouse Christendom in defence of Constantinople against the Sultan, whose designs were too obvious to be mistaken, he addressed an epistle to the Greeks, full of earnest entreaties and exhortations. He besought them to repent of their dissensions, and, by receiving the decree of the council of Florence, to show some regard to their own safety; and after various solemn warnings, compared them to the fig-tree in the parable, assuring them that if they bore no fruit after three years, the fate of the barren tree would be theirs, and the nation would be extirpated by the ministers of divine wrath. This appeal was made in 1451, but it was made in vain. Every effort of the emperor himself was equally nugatory; and, amidst the preparations for the siege of their city, the violence of polemical controversy reached its height, paralysing all his exertions for the public safety. The prophecy of the Roman Pontiff was accomplished. Amid the frantic excitement of theological controversy, the fierce and uncompromising spirit of religious bigotry, the triumph of sectarian intolerance, and the exaggeration of partial differences, the common foe was unheeded, and in 1453, the fatal year predicted by the Pope, Constantinople became the prey of the common enemy of Christianity, and the controversy with Rome was terminated in the bondage of Mohammadanism.

Having thus directed our attention to the chief causes of

the schism between the two churches, it is desirable to take into view some farther particulars regarding the Greek Church, so as to render this brief historical outline the more complete.

In the seventh century the Greek Church embraced a large extent of territory to the south and east of Constantinople, including not only East Illyria, Greece Proper, the Morea, the Islands of the Archipelago, but also Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, and Egypt, together with numerous congregations even in Mesopotamia and Persia. The conquests of Mohammad, and in particular, the subsequent extension of the Saracenic Empire, deprived the Greek Church of almost all its provinces in Asia and Africa, the inhabitants of which were compelled by the sword to embrace the doctrines of Islam, and on their rejection of them invariably destroyed.

But the loss of territory in one direction was compensated, in some measure, by its extension in another. In the ninth and tenth centuries, several of the Sclavonic nations embraced the creed of the Greek Church, and Christianity was established over the vast empire of Russia under highly favourable circumstances, inasmuch as, instead of being exposed to persecution, or subjected to disabilities and inconveniences, like the parent church, it was fostered and supported by the celebrated Prince Vladimir, and all his successors.*

After the learned Cyrillus Lucaris, Patriarch of Constantinople, had suffered martyrdom in A.D. 1629, on account of his professed approbation of the principles of Protestantism, which he had learned in England, a confession of faith was drawn up by the Greek Church, and ratified by all the patri-

* At the present day there are in Russia 31 dioceses. The seats of the four metropolitans are Petersburgh, with the jurisdiction of Novogorod; Kiev, with that of Galicia; Kasan, with that of Svijaschk; and Tobolsk, with that of all Siberia. Up to 1702 there existed the Patriarchal dignity of Moscow, when it was abolished by Peter the Great. The ecclesiastical government of the empire was intrusted to a college of bishops and secular clergy, called the Holy Synod, which originally assembled at Moscow, and now meet at St. Petersburgh. Under this synod are, besides the metropolitans, 11 archbishops, 19 bishops, 12,500 parish churches, and 425 convents, 68 of which are connected with monastic schools for the education of the clergy.

archs, as well as by the authority of Peter the Great in 1721. This book, and the canons of the first and second Nicene councils, the first, second, and third councils of Constantinople, and those of the Ephesian and Chalcedonian general councils, and finally, those of the Milan council, held in the imperial city in 692, constitute the chief directory of its members in matters of doctrine.

The Greek Church differs in a considerable degree from that of Rome. Like that church, it recognises two sources of doctrine, the Bible—and tradition, viz., the doctrines approved of by the Greek fathers, and by the seven general councils above mentioned. The remaining councils, which are admitted to be authoritative by the Latin Church, and have been the means of introducing new errors into the system of Popery, the Greek Church rejects. It is the only church which holds that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father only, thus differing from the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church, who hold the derivation of the third person of the Trinity from the Father and the Son. Like the Latin Church, it admits of seven sacraments—baptism, and chrism,* the eucharist, confession, penance, ordination, marriage, and extreme unction; but it is peculiar in holding that purification from original sin requires a trine immersion, or aspersion, and in uniting the chrism with baptism, in order to its completion; and in respect to the eucharist, while it adopts the doctrine of transubstantiation, ordering the bread to be leavened, the wine to be mixed with water, and both elements to be distributed to the laity, and even to children. It differs also from the Roman Church in anointing with the holy oil or chrism, not only the dying, but the sick, for their restoration to health, the forgiveness of their sins, and the sanctification of their souls. It is distinguished from that church also, by rejecting the doctrine of purgatory, denying works of supererogation, and disallowing indulgences and dispensations, and in not permitting any carved, sculptured, or molten images of holy persons or things,

* The anointing with oil which has been consecrated by the bishop. It is used by the Greek Church in baptism, confirmation, and ordination, as well as in extreme unction.

but merely painted representations. In the invocation of the saints, the members of the Greek are as zealous as those of the Latin Church, and scarcely less superstitious in the reverence which they pay to crosses, graves, and the relics, real or supposed, of the saints; nevertheless, the free use of the Bible in the vernacular tongue is not interdicted, as in the Church of Rome. The celibacy of the clergy, so peculiar a feature in the Latin, the Greek Church does not insist upon; but while all its ministers, with the exception of the monks, and the higher dignitaries chosen from their number, are permitted to marry, they are nevertheless restrained as to marriage by certain peculiar limitations. The clergyman must marry a virgin, and not a widow, and on the death of the wife, the widower cannot marry a second time, nor even retain his living, but must retire to a cloister for the remainder of his days.*

The service of the Greek Church consists in a great measure of external forms. Preaching constitutes the least part of it, and is almost wholly confined to the higher orders of the clergy. Each congregation has its own choir of singers, instrumental music being altogether excluded. The liturgy consists of passages of Scripture, prayers and legends of the saints, the recitation of the creed and sentences which the priest begins, and the congregation, officiating simultaneously, conclude as in the responses of the Church of England.

It now only remains to notice the condition of the Greek Church under Mohammadan domination. Notwithstanding the evils to which it was subjected after Constantinople fell under the power of the Mohammadans, its members remained as far as circumstances rendered it possible, faithful to her original constitution. The Patriarchate of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, still continued to exist. Notwithstanding the desolation which befel the city on its capture by Mohammad II., the efforts which that monarch made to beautify the future seat of his empire speedily attracted to it a large and increasing population. The Greek Christians returned in considerable numbers, and obtained from the Sultan the appointment of an ecclesiastical superior.

* The widowed clergy are called hieromonachi, *i.e.*, holy monks.

Mohammad himself on his throne invested Gennadius with the patriarchate, and the ceremonial previously employed by the court of the Constantines was resumed; the great officers of state—the viziers and pashas—conducted the patriarch, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, to the palace allotted to him. The Patriarchate of Constantinople continued to maintain its ancient authority, taking the lead in the synod of that city, composed of the four patriarchs, a number of metropolitans and bishops, and twelve secular Greeks, and recognised as the head of the Greek communion in the Ottoman dominions as well as the Greeks of Galicia, Sclavonia, and the seven islands.* The other three patriarchs have but a very limited territory over which to exercise their jurisdiction—the Patriarch of Alexandria having only two churches in Cairo—and they depend as to pecuniary resources almost wholly on the Patriarch of Constantinople. Unlike the Roman pontiffs, the patriarchs of the Greek Church never succeeded either in securing their independence, or, by asserting their pre-eminence over the secular authority, in establishing themselves and their community as a distinct and independent spiritual state. On the contrary, they had, prior to the fall of Constantinople, remained completely under the power of the civil magistrate, and the patriarch was instituted, deposed, and might be put to death by his undisputed authority. This state of matters has been perpetuated under the rule of the Ottoman Emperors. The Patriarch of Constantinople is elected by the plurality of votes of the metropolitan and neighbouring bishops, and then presented to the Sultan for institution to his office; and this favour is seldom refused, especially as a large pecuniary present is exacted in return, varying, according to circumstances, from 20,000 to 30,000 dollars. The Sultan, however, retains in his hands the power to depose the patriarch, to banish him from his office, and even to put him to death. This power, it may be easily perceived, is a source of extreme danger. Under an unscrupulous despot the expectation of the payment made on institu-

* Exclusive, however, of the "United Greeks," who are in communion with the Church of Rome.

tion becomes a temptation to exercise the power of banishment or deposition, and it has sometimes happened that on a trifling dispute with the Ottoman government, the patriarch has been driven to purchase his confirmation in office by a large payment to the imperial treasury. The Patriarch of Constantinople possesses the power of nominating successors to the three patriarchates already mentioned; and, upon their election by the bishops to their respective provinces, to confirm that election; but the authority of the Sultan is still requisite to give effect to the appointment, and this authority is the occasion of pecuniary exactions more or less oppressive. The income of the Patriarch of Constantinople is considerable, but nearly one-half of his funds find their way into the Sultan's treasury in the form of tribute, while various disabilities and inconveniences are inflicted on his church.

Reference has already been made in the preceding chapter to the iniquitous system of taxation, so long existing in the Ottoman Empire. The pressure of taxation was made to weigh most heavily on all who were not Mohammadans. No Mussulman was subject to a direct tax unless he belonged to the army or the feudal militia. The poll-tax in particular was a great grievance, and subject in the collection to the utmost abuse. This impost was laid upon all above the age of twelve years and varied in amount from four to twelve piastres. It has been stated by some writers to be a tax giving to those who have paid it exemption from being beheaded or rather liberty to wear their heads for a year; but whether this be so or not, it is certain that it was the tribute which Christians were obliged to pay if they declined to become Mohammadans. The oppression of this tax has commonly been very greatly increased by the rapacity of those who had collected it, and who, by means of bribes, effectually prevent the complaints of their victims from meeting any attention.

The Christian population, however, are exposed to other civil evils of a most discouraging, injurious, and unjust description. They have for centuries been treated as an inferior race of people, and are stamped with the marks of their

social degradation. The Muftee, by a solemn fetva, ordained that the oaths of Christians, when unsupported by those of Mohammadans, were not to be received in a court of justice as valid evidence. In addition to this, in the invariable practice of the courts of justice (so called), the perjury of a Muslim against a Christian was slightly regarded, while that of a Christian against a Mussulman was punished with death. It is obvious, therefore, that Christians might thus be exposed to innumerable claims, might lose their property, and have their houses and family seized by a stranger without the slightest hope of redress. Moreover, if a Mussulman killed a Christian, even from deliberate malice, the law which condemns the offender was not executed, and the criminal escaped with impunity; while, on the other hand, the least injury done by a Christian to a Muslim was visited with the heaviest penalty. The Christians, too, were put under restriction as to the colour of their apparel, and even of their houses, which must be of a dark hue.

These legalized disabilities were, as may readily be presumed, greatly aggravated by the circumstance, that the Christian population of Turkey have been subjected to the hostile feelings of the people, who, by the spirit and letter of the laws, might adopt a multitude of methods by which to injure and persecute their fellow subjects, and thus to gratify their national hatred of "unbelievers." The meanest and most brutal of the Turks might with perfect impunity insult the highest and most cultivated of the Christians. A Muslim might compel a Greek of the most respectable rank to perform a menial office without fear of being reprimanded; nay, the most venerable of the Greeks might be buffeted by the youngest Mohammadan without the remotest prospect of protection or redress. It may readily be presumed what grievous and irreparable injuries were thus inflicted when the wearing of weapons afforded the Turks the ready means of gratifying their passions. The lives and persons of the Greeks were at the mercy of every fanatic, who, in the true spirit of his wretched and degrading superstition, thought proper to wreak his malice upon his helpless fellow subject, and thus murder

has been perpetrated, and personal injury inflicted in thousands of cases, with less forethought than in Britain the slightest punishment is awarded by a justice of the peace.*

Since the accession of the present Sultan Abdul Medjid, attempts have been made, and some very recently, to remove the disabilities under which the Greek population have so long laboured. But until they are entirely removed and a complete emancipation granted, together with the institution of a system of perfect equality between all the Sultan's subjects, the interests of the Ottoman Empire will be neither permanently nor effectually advanced.

* The reader has only to consult the works of Belzoni, Slade, and other writers for abundant illustrations of these remarks.

CHAPTER X.

A. D. 1481-1520.

Bajazet II. acknowledged the successor of Mohammad II.—His claim disputed by Zisimes—Defeat of Zisimes' forces by Achmet Pasha—Applies to the Knights of St. John—Is sent into Italy and placed in the custody of the Pope—Bajazet's conduct to Achmet Pasha—His attempt to destroy him—He is rescued by the Janizaries—At last falls a victim to the Sultan's hatred—Reduction of Caramania and Armenia—War with Egypt—Defeat of Bajazet's forces by the Mamelukes—Death of Zisimes—War with the Republic of Venice—Death of Bajazet—Accession of Selim—Murder of his relatives—War with Persia—Battle of Calderoon—War with Egypt—Extension of the Turkish dominions—Death of Selim.

MOHAMMAD II. left two sons, Bajazet and Zisimes. The former was acknowledged his successor, but the succession was disputed by the latter; who, levying an army, resolved to take possession of, at least, the Asiatic territories possessed by his father. The talents of this prince rendered him a formidable adversary to Bajazet, and the struggle would probably have been prolonged and doubtful, had not the Sultan possessed in Achmet Pasha a general of vast skill and mature experience. This veteran having been dispatched into Asia with a great force, attacked the army of Zisimes near Neapolis, in Anatolia, and obtained a complete victory. The prince himself fled from the field of battle with his family and treasures, and took refuge in Cairo. Obtaining aid from Egypt, he soon after made an attempt to regain his lost authority in Asia Minor, but was again signally defeated. He then applied to the Grand Master of Rhodes, who, together with the Knights, of whom he was superior, shewed the utmost kindness to the royal fugitive; but afraid to risk

the consequences of offending so powerful and warlike a neighbour as the Sultan, resolved to decline taking any active steps to facilitate Zisimes' operations against his brother. He therefore removed the prince into Italy, recommending him to the attention of the Bishop of Rome, Innocent VIII., who, taking advantage of so favourable an opportunity of replenishing his exchequer, arranged for an annual sum paid by Bajazet to keep Zisimes in Italy, and so render impossible any future attempt on his part to disturb the reign of his brother.

The conduct of the Sultan towards the brave and generous Achmet, is itself sufficient to stamp his character with infamy. It was by means of this heroic general that Mohammad, the late Sultan, had achieved many of his greatest triumphs. By his aid he had made himself master of Trebizond, the city of Caffa, the whole of the Chersonesus, (Taurica), the city of Croia and all Epirus, Scodra and a large portion of Dalmatia, and lastly, the castle of Otranto in Italy. Bajazet's own obligations to this brave and skilful veteran were of the deepest kind. It was mainly through his wisdom and valour, that he was relieved from the peril in which his brother Zisimes had placed him; and he owed to his vast influence with the troops, the security he enjoyed in his capital. All this was insufficient to neutralize the spirit of hatred and revenge which many years before Bajazet had conceived, and which he had continued to foster. In a battle which Mohammad his father had fought in Asia Minor, in which Bajazet had the command of the right wing of the army, the Sultan perceiving it to be unskilfully drawn up, ordered Achmet to remedy the defect. This the general immediately did, but Bajazet considered himself insulted, and vowed that if ever an opportunity offered itself, he would have his revenge. From this purpose he had never swerved, and now having attained by his father's death absolute authority, he resolved to carry it into execution. He was the more determined on this, from jealousy of the influence which Achmet possessed over the Janizaries, and indeed all the army. Resolving therefore to put the Pasha to death, Bajazet ordered a sump-

tuous supper to be prepared, to which he invited all the other officers of state, and among the rest Achmet, who felt no alarm whatever, and indeed had no suspicion of the fatal design entertained against him. The banquet being ended, at which the guests had, contrary to the Muslim law, partaken freely of wine after the example of their royal host himself, Bajazet ordered robes of honour to be brought in, with which he clothed his guests, in token of his high esteem, placing before each at the same time a gilt basin full of gold pieces. Achmet, however, was distinguished from the rest of the company by being invested with a robe of black velvet, the sudden and unexpected indication of impending death. The brave soldier at once perceived with horror and amazement the design of the Sultan, and knowing it was in vain to plead for mercy, reproached him with his foul breach of hospitality, addressing the tyrant in terms which his ingratitude and perfidy deserved. The rest of the guests then departed, and when Achmet rose to take his leave, he was commanded to sit still. No sooner were the apartments free from the guests, than the executioners appeared, and were about to strangle the Pasha, when one of the principal eunuchs advised the tyrant to refrain from taking the life of a man so much beloved by the soldiers as Achmet, and thus succeeded in averting his doom for a season.

It was well for the sanguinary tyrant that he listened to the counsel of the slave. When the rest of the company had issued from the palace, one of the sons of Achmet, a man in high esteem, perceiving his father was not among them, and taking instant alarm, soon discovered the danger by which he was beset, and instantly roused the Janizaries, who became frantic at the supposed death of their beloved commander. Assembling in immense numbers at the palace, they demanded, with the utmost fury, that Achmet should be delivered to them. The Sultan was obliged to yield. The general was brought forth almost naked from the chamber in which he had, at the Sultan's command, been undergoing torture, and the soldiers, rejoiced at recovering him, bore him off in triumph. Even at this moment, when suffering anguish from the torture,

and fully convinced of the perfidy and ingratitude of his worthless master, the generous soldier remained loyal to his cause. Such were his power and popularity, that one word from him would have dethroned Bajazet, and invested himself with supreme power; but instead of any such intention, he endeavoured to explain the conduct of the Sultan by blaming himself for some act of disobedience or neglect of duty. Bajazet now endeavoured to be reconciled with Achmet, and loaded him with honours, the better to conceal the fatal design which he still cherished, and the implacable hatred which he felt toward him. And not long after, having again invited him to an entertainment, he had him assassinated in his presence.

The celebrated troops known as the Janizaries had already become all but absolute governors of the empire; and although originally embodied for the Sultan's personal security, those fierce and turbulent soldiers had now assumed a degree of ascendancy which was completely opposed to the Sultan's own power. Bajazet formed the resolution to destroy this force, a resolution in which all his successors participated, but which it was impossible for any of them to carry into effect until the present age. These hostile designs were not unsuspected by the Janizaries; and when, in order if possible to deceive them, the Sultan resolved to invade Moldavia, and ordered out all his troops for that purpose, these fierce soldiers drew together by themselves, formed in order of battle, and invited the Sultan to perform his threat to destroy them, declaring that he should see how they could defend themselves. Their fury, indeed, was hardly appeased by the solemn oath of the Sultan, that he intended them no harm, an oath to which his perfidy rendered them slow to trust.

Bajazet soon afterwards marched against the king of Caramania, to take vengeance upon him in consequence of the aid which he had given to his brother Zisimes. Having assaulted Tarsus, he at last took possession of the city; and by continuing to occupy the country, and to harass the inhabitants, he drove the king to seek assistance from the Sultan of Egypt, and thus reinforced he was enabled to take the field against his invader. The king of Caramania was slain in a battle

which ensued, and Bajazet speedily brought the whole country under subjection. The conquest of Armenia, and other territories which had long successfully opposed the Ottoman power, soon followed, and, leaving a large army to keep the newly-acquired provinces in subjection, the conqueror returned in triumph to Constantinople.

The hostility which had long existed between the Ottoman kings and the sultans of Egypt, became greatly aggravated by the successes of Bajazet in Asia, and both sides prepared for war. Bajazet prepared a large fleet and a powerful army to attack the Egyptian Sultan at once, both by land and sea; while the Egyptian Monarch, on the other hand, made no less vigorous preparations to meet his warlike and energetic adversary. The Egyptians marched rapidly through Syria, and came up with the Ottoman forces at no great distance from Tarsus, in the same place, as it is supposed, in which Alexander defeated Darius in the battle of Arbela. A tremendous conflict ensued between the Janizaries on the one side and the Mamelukes on the other, the result of which was in the highest degree disastrous to the Ottoman forces, who, notwithstanding their well known valour, were at length put to flight. Nor was Bajazet more fortunate at sea. A storm arose by which his fleet was totally destroyed. In a word, Bajazet was obliged to make peace with his powerful opponent, and to surrender to him the territories which he had so recently seized upon in Asia.

Meantime Zisimes, Bajazet's brother, had remained in prison in Italy, the Pope having taken care to fulfil his compact with the Sultan as regarded his captive. Bajazet, however, resolved that the unhappy prince should no longer exist to cause him any anxiety. He accordingly sent messengers to Rome offering the Pope a reward of 200,000 ducats for putting his unhappy brother to death. The pontiff, a worthy parent of the infamous Cæsar Borgia, complied with the request, and having delivered up his prisoner to the French, took care that poison should be administered to him before his departure from his prison, of which his victim died a few days afterwards.

Prior to this period the Republic of Venice had given great offence to Bajazet. Not only had Venice aided the princes of Epirus in their efforts to free themselves from the Ottoman yoke, but when the Sultan in his war with Egypt had requested permission to put his fleet into the harbours of Cyprus, they had not only refused to allow him so to do, but had despatched a large squadron to prevent his availing himself of the required shelter. To this in some measure may be attributed the total loss of the Ottoman fleet, already mentioned. Bajazet longed to be revenged on the Republic for these acts of hostility, but he found it impossible with safety to make any attempt upon the Venetian territories lest Zisimes should be set up against him. Having however put his unhappy brother out of the way, there existed no impediment to the exercise of his long-cherished spirit of vengeance.

Having despatched a pasha, his lieutenant in Illyria, with 12,000 cavalry, into the country of Friuli, part of the Venetian territories, the Sultan at the same time sent a large fleet to invade the possessions of the Republic on the coast. The city of Lepanto yielded to the combined attack soon after made both from sea and land, and after defeating the Venetians and ravaging their territories, the Ottoman forces returned to Constantinople.

The history of the Ottoman empire during the reign of Bajazet II. exhibits little more than a series of sanguinary engagements fought with varying success, and no very remarkable accession of territory is observable. Towards the close of his reign the life of the Sultan was embittered by the intrigues of his sons, each of whom was desirous of dethroning him, and more than once placed him in manifest jeopardy. After much disturbance caused by the rebellion and ambition of Selim, the Sultan at length gave way to the representations of the Janizaries, and having appointed that prince his successor, set forth on his journey to Demotica with the intention of spending the remainder of his days in private life, and in his native place. But the aged monarch was not suffered to complete his journey. His

son had arranged with a Jewish physician, in whom Bajazet had implicit confidence, to administer poison to him on his journey.*

Having thus succeeded to the throne in 1512, Selim I. distributed to the Janizaries, a portion of the vast treasures which Bajazet his father had left, as well as raised the amount of their regular pay, so as to secure their services more completely to himself. His next step was to rid himself of his immediate relations who might compete with him for the imperial dignity so recently acquired, thinking no crime too great to commit which might tend to the establishment of his power. He invited to him his brother's sons, who, with the exception of the youngest, who was only seven years of age, were all between sixteen and twenty, and one of whom, named Mahomet, was distinguished for his princely qualities, and extraordinary personal beauty, and had them immediately subjected to the bow-string.† The jealous tyrant farther

* "The deceitful Jew," says Knolles, "moved with the fear of death and hope of reward, two great motives, coming to Bajazet, and finding him very weak, saith to him that he would prepare a potion which would both restore to him his health, and strengthen his weak body, if it would please him to take it next morning early lying in his bed. Bajazet nothing distrusting his old physician whom he had so often and so long trusted, said he would gladly take it. Early next morning cometh the Jew with the deadly poyson in a cupp of golde, Bajazet still sleeping, which he set down in the chair of state, and so stood waiting untill the aged prince should of himself awake. But Bajazet sleeping soundly (as oftentimes it chanceth when men sleep their last), and withal somewhat longer than stood with the Jew's purpose, he presuming of his wonted practice, awakened him and told him that the time to take the potion was almost past. Bajazet doubting no treason, called him to bring it, whereof when the Jew had taken the essay (having before himself taken a preservative against the poyson), he gave it to Bajazet to drink, who cheerfully drank it upp . . . But Bajazet, attainted with the force of the poyson, began first to feel most grievous gripings in his stomach; the strong pain whereof appeared by his miserable complainings and heavy groanings, in the midst of which torments he gave up the ghost."

"However, the false Jew," continues the annalist, "coming to Constantinople, and expecting some great reward for his foul treason, by the commandment of Selim had his head presently struck off, with this exprobration of his treachery, that opportunity serving, he would not stick for reward to do the like against Selim himself."

† "It is reported," says Knolles, "that Mahomet (the young prince above referred to) with a penknife slew one of the bloody executioners

resolved to put his brother Cornutus to death, a prince from whom he had nothing to fear, and who long before this period had given up all desire of sovereignty, and devoted himself in the quiet of a retreat in Magnesia to the study of literature and philosophy. Having equipped a suitable force, Selim himself marched rapidly from Broussa to surprise Cornutus in his retreat. A soldier, however, who had served one of the pashas in Cornutus' court, gathering the purpose of the Sultan from the haste and secrecy of the expedition, escaped by night, and, mounted on a fleet charger, found his way to the residence of the doomed prince in time to warn him of his danger. Cornutus having rewarded the messenger, immediately fled with only two attendants in the hope of obtaining a passage to Rhodes. A fleet of galleys, however, lying on the coast of Ionia rendered his escape impossible. Taking refuge in a cave at the sea-shore not far from Smyrna, he subsisted with great difficulty on the shell-fish which he and his followers collected, till at last he was discovered by a peasant, seized and carried toward his brother's castle of Broussa. The prince was within a day's journey of his destination, when a messenger arrived from the Sultan with orders to strangle him and convey his body to Broussa. "The captain," says the biographer of Selim, "coming to Cornutus in the dead time of the night, and awaking him out of his sleep, told him his heavy message, how that he was sent from his brother Selymus to see him executed, which must, as he said, be presently done. Cornutus, exceedingly troubled with such heavy news, and fetching a deep sigh, desired the captain so long to spare his life until he might write a few short lines to his brother Selymus, which poor request being granted, he called for pen and paper, and readily in Turkish verse (for he had spent all his time in study), reproved his brother of his most horrible cruelty, upbraiding him that he had not only most disloyally thrust

sent into his chamber to kill him, and so wounded the other that he fell down for dead; and that Selim, being in a chamber fast by, and almost an eye-witness of what was done, presently sent in others who first bound the poor prince, and afterwards strangled him with the rest."

his father out of his empire, but also most unnaturally deprived him of life of whom he had received the same; and not so content, had most tyrannously slain his brother's children, and now like an unmerciful wretch, thirsted after the guiltless blood of himself. At last, concluding his letters with many a bitter curse, he besought God to take of him just revenge for so much innocent blood by him unnaturally spilt. When he had thus much written, he requested the captain that it might, together with his dead body, be delivered unto Selymus. So without farther delay, he was by the tyrant's command presently strangled. The next day after, when the dead body was presented to Selymus, he uncovered the face thereof to be sure that it was he, and seeing a paper in his hand, took it from him, but when he read it he burst out into tears, protesting that he was never so much grieved or troubled with any man's death as with his, for which cause he commanded great mourning to be made for him in the court. Three days after he caused fifteen of those diligent searchers for Cornutus to have their heads struck off, and their bodies thrown into the sea." The tyrant soon after defeated his remaining brother Achmet in battle, and having taken him prisoner, instantly put him to death.

The fierce and unscrupulous Sultan now resolved to make war upon Ishmael, the king of Persia, a potentate by no means to be despised even by the Ottoman power, and whose dominions comprehended Media, Mesopotamia, Assyria, and Armenia. Both monarchs were in the highest degree exasperated against each other, and prepared for a struggle which they felt must be prolonged and sanguinary. Selim marched eastwards with an army of 250,000 men. Keeping along the banks of the Euphrates, this immense force began to feel the effects of scarcity, and the soldiers were exhibiting tokens of great discontent, which must speedily have issued in a complete revolt, when tidings were brought of the advance of the Persian force, and the cupidity of the Ottoman troops prevented any further murmuring. Hastening forwards to meet the enemy, the Ottoman forces encountered them on the

plains of Calderoon, and a desperate conflict took place. Selim evinced great skill as well as great valour in this terrible battle. Consistently with the military tactics already observed, he began the battle with his worst soldiers, reserving all the ablest of his troops, such as the Spahees, Janizaries, and the artillery, for the more decisive moments of the struggle. The arms of the Ottoman leader were crowned with success. Although in the earlier part of the contest victory seemed to incline towards the Persians, the fortune of the day was turned at last by the fierce attacks of Selim himself and his Janizaries; and the battle was gained, but with so great a loss of life, that it could hardly be considered as a victory. An immense booty, nevertheless, fell into the hands of the Turks, with many fair captives who had followed their husbands to the field of battle.*

The first campaign thus closed, for both parties had sustained too much damage to keep the field. Selim, however, resolved on vengeance, and early in the following spring led his forces toward Persia. His first attempt on this occasion was directed against Alee Adulet, the prince of Armenia. Detaching from his force 20,000 Spahees and the like number of Janizaries, he sent them by forced marches into Armenia; and they found the prince wholly unprepared for so sudden an attack. Alee Adulet made a most vigorous resistance; but the want of timely preparation could not be retrieved by the most desperate valour. The ill-fated sovereign was obliged to fly from his invaders, and to take refuge among the mountains. Here but for a traitor he might have remained undiscovered. He was, however, seized, and, together with all his family, immediately put to death. His dominions were then annexed to the Turkish Empire.

Other successes soon extended the dominions of the Ottoman Sultan. In the course of the campaign entered upon in

* These captives were found in the tents of the Persians, and Selim set them all at liberty, with the exception of one lady whom he married to one of his pashas; but it is remarkable that, among the many thousands of the dead who covered the fatal plains, were found many Persian women attired as warriors, who had evidently taken an active part in the conflict.

the following year, before the Shah could provide for the defence of his territories, Selim had seized on several important cities; and the vast plains of Mesopotamia, lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris, became a portion of the Ottoman Empire. The conquests thus made were of the utmost importance to the Turkish Emperor; but they were equally disastrous to the districts themselves, so incorporated with the Ottoman dominions. No more lovely or more fertile regions exist in Asia than those vast alluvial plains which lie between the rivers now mentioned. Under such a rule as would have developed their resources, vast advantages might have been attained; but, since falling under the yoke of Turkey, all traces of prosperity have vanished. The time, however, may not be far distant, when, under the powerful influence of modern civilization and advancement, those regions may from their rich supplies again become entitled to their ancient character of the "Garden of the World."

The Shah of Persia and the Soldan of Egypt were the great opponents of the Muslim power, and Selim I., aware of the intimate alliance subsisting between those two potentates for their mutual defence, endeavoured in vain to terminate it, before making any attempt to achieve the conquest of Persia. Finding every effort fruitless, he resolved at length on the invasion of Egypt. The history of the campaign against the Mamelukes would occupy a much greater space than is consistent with the plan of this work. Selim eventually succeeded in the object he had in view. Cairo opened her gates to his victorious hosts; and after a long and sanguinary warfare, the dominions of the Soldan became a portion of the Ottoman Empire. Even those Arabian tribes who, in former periods of history, owned the sway of the Saracen Khaleefehs, now acknowledged his supremacy. The keys of the sacred cities of Mekkeh and Medeeneh were delivered to him. He became possessor of Syria, and the cities of Antioch, Damascus, and Jerusalem; and the last of the lineal descendants of the Khaleefehs devolved upon him the influence and authority which he had exercised over the followers of the Prophet. Thus, in the space of two or three years, Selim

accomplished more in extending the limits of the Ottoman territory than any one of his most renowned predecessors had been able to do during a whole reign.

Not contented, however, with those brilliant successes, Selim resolved to carry out his favourite project—the subjugation of Persia. But, while he awaited the return of spring to commence the new campaign, he was seized with a cancerous disease in the loins, which, spreading over his whole body, rendered him a most loathsome spectacle, and terminated his life A.D. 1520, on the very spot, it is said, on which, a few years before, he had opposed his father Bajazet in battle. This Sultan well merited the title of Yavuz (*i.e.*, Ferocious), and his death was hailed with delight by the whole of Christendom, and even by his principal statesmen, none of whom, however valuable or useful, could consider his life safe for an hour while exposed to the power of their capricious and sanguinary master. Even the approach of death did not soften his ferocious disposition; and he left his son Solyman several precepts, in which he charged him to make war upon the Christians, and which seem to prove that the effusion of human blood and the sufferings of mankind afforded him delight.

CHAPTER XI.

A.D. 1520-1526.

Accession of Solyman I.—Revolt in Syria—State of Europe favourable to Solyman's schemes—War with Hungary—Capture of Belgrade—Solyman's design upon Rhodes—The Knights of St. John of Jerusalem—Preparations for the defence—The siege of Rhodes—Ferocity of the attack—Gallant defence—The Grand Master despairs of saving the city—The capitulation—Solyman takes possession of Rhodes—The condition of the Janizaries—Institution of new troops to hold them in check—Renewal of the war with Hungary—Supineness of King Louis—Fatal battle of Mohatcz—Buda and Pesth surrendered to Solyman's forces—The Sultan diverted from his purpose by an insurrection in Asia—Battle with the insurgents Death of their leader.

ON the decease of a Sultan, it had been the custom of the Janizaries, presuming on their irresponsibility and power, to seize upon the property of the merchants and rich citizens of Constantinople, and indeed of all the cities in which they were garrisoned, and to prescribe terms even to the powerful pashas. To prevent such outrages, which produced effects almost as disastrous as the pillage of an enemy's army, the officers of state had frequently adopted the expedient of concealing the decease of the sovereign until the arrival of his successor. This concealment was absolutely essential upon the death of Sultan Selim; and, although it was known that he had been ill, the utmost care was taken to keep secret the fatal termination of his malady. Solyman, the heir to the throne, was then in Magnesia with no expectation of being so suddenly elevated to the sovereignty. Ferhates, the only pasha who was aware of the death of the Sultan, immediately

despatched letters to the prince, intimating the event which had occurred, and requiring his immediate presence. Solyman, however, was not ignorant of his father's character. Some years before he had ventured to express his disapprobation of his extreme measures, and his candour had very nearly proved fatal to him. Selim immediately resolved he should die, and for that purpose sent him as a present a richly embroidered shirt which he intended him to wear; but Solyman's mother suspected some danger, and tried the experiment of making one of her slaves wear the garment, which proved to be poisoned, and occasioned the death of the wearer a few days afterwards. Solyman, therefore, distrusted the communication sent him as to Selim's death, and suspecting some latent plot for his own destruction, paid little attention to the messenger, and remained at his post. Ferhates Pasha, who had sent the message, found it requisite, therefore, to obtain testimony additional to his own to convince the incredulous prince, who at length set forth to Constantinople, and was proclaimed Emperor amid the rejoicings of the people, and even of the Janizaries, whom he compensated for the pillage which had escaped them by a liberal largess.

This celebrated monarch ascended the throne in 1520 under highly favourable auspices. His predecessor, notwithstanding his military successes, was secretly feared as well as detested by his people as an unscrupulous and sanguinary tyrant; and they were now prepared to hail with the utmost delight and enthusiasm the accession of a prince whose character gave promise of that tranquillity to which they had been so long strangers; and one of his earliest ordinances seemed fully to justify the cordiality with which he was thus received. He proclaimed throughout his dominions that, if any of his subjects had been injured either by Selim himself or by his ministers, he was prepared to grant a full indemnity from the imperial treasury.

The new Sultan, however, although evincing by his public acts the generosity and nobleness of his disposition, and thus affording a highly favourable contrast to the character of his father, possessed a degree of military genius by

no means inferior to any of his predecessors, to the exercise of which he soon found himself called.

No sooner was the death of Selim known than Gazelles, the governor of Syria, presuming that a favourable opportunity had arrived for liberating himself from the Ottoman yoke, and restoring the lost dominion of the Mamelukes, threw off his allegiance, and having gathered together a large force composed of the remnant of those Egyptian and Arabian soldiers who had been so recently defeated by Selim, sent an envoy to the governor of Egypt at Cairo to invite him to join in asserting his liberty. The Egyptian governor, however, refused to take up arms, and, putting the envoy to death, informed Solyman of the state of affairs in Syria. Solyman immediately despatched Ferhates Pasha before mentioned to meet the rebels with a suitable force, and in an obstinate engagement Gazelles was slain, and the cities which he had seized again restored to the Ottoman Sultan.

The condition of Europe at the accession of Solyman I. was in a high degree favourable to the pursuit of those schemes of ambition, in the accomplishment of which Selim had been so eminently successful. The commencement of the reformation of the church under the preaching of Luther distracted the attention of the Pope. Francis I. and Charles V., the latter of whom had just ascended the throne, were too much occupied with their own immediate interests to give sufficient attention to the affairs of other states, and Hungary, which, under the rule of an able and energetic prince, might have successfully resisted the Ottoman power, already enfeebled during the nerveless rule of Vladislaus, was now governed by a minor of ten years of age and a cabinet, the members of which were so engrossed by their own affairs, as to give very insufficient attention to those of the nation. Solyman had been strongly advised by Pyrrhus Pasha, his tutor, for whose wisdom he entertained a profound respect, to make war on Hungary, and the Hungarians themselves, with a degree of imprudence almost incredible, supplied him with a sufficient pretext. Having sent an ambassador to the young king to announce his accession to the

throne, Solyman found his ambassador insulted, and when he sought that redress which he was bound to require and entitled to receive, the Hungarian cabinet hesitated with an imbecility only equalled by the imprudence already manifested, either to disavow or to punish the act of which the Sultan complained. Solyman instantly marched towards the Hungarian frontiers with a powerful army, and such was the supineness of the government of that state, that the hostile force reached Belgrade before any effectual means were taken to secure that important city from their attack, and, in 1521, the Sultan with but little labour became possessor of a city, the defenders of which under the famous Huniades had baffled all the efforts of his warlike and skilful predecessors, Mohammad and Amurath. The possession of Belgrade was all that could be desired to establish and consolidate the Ottoman Empire towards the west. It placed in the hands of Solyman the key of Hungary, and invited him to pursue his conquests with the promise of an easy and complete subjugation of the Hungarian dominions.

The Sultan, however, instead of following up the advantage he had thus gained, retraced his steps to Constantinople, and prepared by the advice of his counsellors for the invasion of Rhodes—a project which had long been entertained by his predecessors.

The celebrated island of Rhodes had been in the possession of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem since 1310. The order had originally been instituted for the defence of the Holy Sepulchre, and had numbered among its members many illustrious heroes from every part of Europe. When Jerusalem was taken, they were received under the care of the Greek Emperor, and on the fall of Constantinople, although possessed of the island of Rhodes, they necessarily became wholly dependent on their own resources. Under their care, the island they inhabited had emerged into opulence as well as fame; but, constituting as they did, the defence and bulwark of Christianity, the warlike monks became in proportion the objects of the implacable hatred of the Mohammadans.

The Sultan commenced his operations by opening a cor-

respondence with the Grand Master, Villiers de Lisle Adam, from which it soon became apparent that the time had arrived when the valour of the order should be tested in defending their city from the Muslim army. Preparations were immediately made for that purpose. The suburbs beyond the walls were laid in ruins, the orchards and vineyards destroyed, and every arrangement carried out likely to deprive the besieging army of convenience or advantage during their attack. While the citizens were thus occupied in these necessary, but painful precautionary measures, the country people, bringing their children and cattle with them, and laden with such provisions as they could hastily gather, poured into the city with loud lamentations, leaving their household property to the merciless invaders who were expected so speedily to arrive. Notwithstanding the vast strength of their fortifications, the prospects of the citizens of Rhodes were far from encouraging. To oppose the overwhelming numbers which Solyman was certain to bring to the siege, there were within the walls only five or six thousand men capable of bearing arms, besides five hundred Candiots, and six hundred of the Knights of St. John.

At daybreak on the 26th June 1522, an immense fleet was descried from a watch-tower on St. Stephen's hill, standing towards Rhodes from the coast of Lycia. It is said to have consisted of four hundred sail, containing two hundred thousand men. It proved too truly to be the invading force. On the tidings of its approach, the walls, the tops of the houses, the towers of the city, and every available point of view, were soon occupied by the inhabitants, who gazed with painful interest on the terrible armament so soon perhaps to work them irreparable mischief. The churches were thrown open, and crowded with worshippers, who lifted up their voices with tears and earnest supplications to the Lord of Hosts for victory over the approaching foe. The enemy soon arrived, and keeping out of the way of shot from the city, landed on the island, and prepared for the attack.

The people of Rhodes were no less disposed to despair on account of the multitude of their enemies, than the Ottomans were because of the enormous strength of the city to be the

object of their attack. The city occupied a level plain on the north side of the island, close to the harbour. Its position was not naturally one of great strength, but the hand of art had amply supplied the deficiency. It was surrounded on all sides with a broad and lofty double wall, with towers and bulwarks; and on the land side deep and broad ditches added to the difficulty of approaching the fortifications. Indeed, it could only be taken by a prolonged and persevering attack, by overwhelming multitudes of assailants. The small garrison was composed for the most part of men of tried valour, animated with the greatest enthusiasm for the common cause, and resolved to defend themselves to the last. They were composed of Italians, French and Spaniards, Germans and English, each commanded by knights of high rank from their respective countries. Over the English, however, the Grand Master himself presided.

It is difficult to convey a just idea of the ferocity of the attack on the one hand, and the gallantry of the defence on the other. The Ottomans raised immense batteries of cannon of the largest calibre against the city, which they placed on mounds erected higher than the walls; and with incessant labour their fifty thousand pioneers sunk mines under the walls in every direction. Every stratagem was adopted, and every means employed which the art of war suggested, to accomplish their object. On the other hand, the besieged made frequent sallies, destroying the enemy's works, and with valour nerved by desperation, cut to pieces thousands of their foes. Fifty counter mines were sunk within the city against a like number formed by the Mohammadan engineers; and although several great breaches were made in the walls, and were followed by repeated assaults from vast multitudes, the gallant knights repulsed their assailants with terrible slaughter. A perpetual conflict was kept up for four months, and although the walls and towers of the city were greatly injured, the attempt to take possession of the city seemed to the besiegers utterly hopeless. The Ottoman soldiers began to despair, and Solyman resolved on one grand effort to take the city by a general assault.

The Grand Master became aware of the intention of the enemy, made such arrangements as were in his power, and, early on the 24th September, the Turks stormed the city in five different places, with ten thousand men at each point. Solyman had encouraged his troops by promising them the pillage of the city; and De Lisle Adam called on his gallant band to fight for all they held dear, as well as the honour of their knighthood, and the cause of Christianity. In the general assault prodigies of valour and heroism were performed on both sides. Within the city every one was either directly or indirectly engaged in the defence, without respect of rank, age, or even of sex. Women, aged men, and children were incessantly employed. Some carried weapons to the soldiers; some brought paving-stones from the streets; while others were occupied in casting from the walls, upon the Turks, stones, barrels of burning pitch, hoops covered with Greek fire, and scalding oil, and thus materially aided their gallant defenders, whose more immediate duty it was to serve the cannon and wield the sword. The attack was vain. The Ottoman army was completely foiled in their attempt, and some idea of the deadly rancour of the conflict may be had, when it is stated that not less than twenty thousand of the enemy were destroyed in the space of the six hours of the assault.

It is unnecessary to detail all the particulars of this memorable siege. Everything that valour and heroism could achieve was accomplished by the citizens of Rhodes; but it soon became apparent that the city must necessarily fall into the hands of Solyman, and the Grand Master, long since despairing of any aid from Europe, found it to be his duty to surrender a place which it would have been utterly vain to attempt any longer to defend. He therefore entered into terms with the besiegers; and the Sultan took possession of Rhodes on Christmas day, 1522. Considering the almost helpless state to which the city was reduced, the articles of capitulation were upon the whole favourable; and Solyman treated his valiant opponent with that kindness and courtesy to which his great merits, as well as his masterly defence, entitled him at the hands of a magnanimous and triumphant

conqueror; and the Grand Master and the knights of his order, together with nearly four thousand of the citizens, sailed from Rhodes, carrying with them such property as had been rescued from destruction; while the Sultan embarked for his capital, with the loss of nearly fifty thousand of his soldiers.

On returning to Constantinople, the Ottoman Emperor, beyond the securing the government of his Egyptian dominions, in which some disturbances had arisen, engaged in no military enterprize for nearly three years, occupying himself during that period in reforming the laws, establishing on better principles the administration of justice and the financial affairs of the empire, and instituting various civil and military regulations adapted to the character of his people, and calculated to promote their prosperity. Among the matters which demanded his attention was the condition of the Janizaries. These fierce troops had, during every preceding reign, behaved on various occasions in such a manner as to render the Sultan's authority in a great measure nugatory; and Solyman had the sagacity to perceive that the security of his throne, and of the empire itself, required that measures should be adopted to check the spirit of arrogance and insubordination which that influential body so frequently evinced. It was impossible to effect this highly important object by directly diminishing their numbers; but the Sultan adopted a measure scarcely less effectual when completed. He instituted a new race of guards, whom, to avoid awakening the jealousy of the Janizaries, he denominated Bostangis or gardeners, and whose ostensible duty was the care of the royal gardens, while, at the same time, they were carefully selected soldiers, and taught that their real and primary business was to guard the person of the Sultan, and secure the safety of his palace. Solyman thus adopted a measure which enabled one of his successors, within the present age, to terminate the rule of those insolent and overbearing soldiers, by the only means likely to effect the purpose—their entire destruction—a measure tending, in a very great degree, to confer stability on the Ottoman empire. The importance of some power to control their turbulent force, and bring them under the dominion of

fixed laws, was strongly impressed on the attention of the Sultan during the first two years of quiet which succeeded the reduction of Rhodes. It will be remembered that during the siege the Sultan had encouraged his troops to the assault by promising to give up the city and its inhabitants to be pillaged; but as the attempt to take it by force had been unsuccessful, and the articles of capitulation provided that the citizens and their effects were to be respected, this arrangement could not be carried out. The Janizaries, however, disappointed of the plunder, continued secretly to entertain resentment for what they were ignorant and presumptuous enough to consider an injustice; and at length, regardless of all law and order, they broke into an act of rebellion, and, assembling tumultuously at the palace of the chief officer of finance, forced the gates, and carried off the treasures which were there deposited. The Sultan, however, put to death four of the chief persons concerned in this outrage; but he felt, at the same time, the necessity of employing his forces, and silencing their murmurs by hopes of new plunder.

No period could have been more opportune for such measures. At that time, and indeed for many years subsequently, Italy was rent in pieces by the conflicts arising from the rivalship of Charles V. and Francis the French king, and almost every state in Europe was involved in the quarrel on one side or the other—thus offering, in the distraction consequent on such a state of things, a tempting opportunity of invasion and conquest to so able and acute a man as the Ottoman Emperor. Belgrade having already fallen into his hands, he possessed an easy mode of ingress into the Hungarian territories, and the facility with which he had acquired that vastly important fortress seemed to be an invitation to him to return and complete the work thus auspiciously begun.

Seizing on the favourable opportunity which thus presented itself, Solyman, with the same rapidity of movement which in a great measure contributed to the capture of Belgrade, marched against Hungary with a force of two hundred thousand men. Such was the supineness of King Louis, who was a mere youth wholly inexperienced either in politics or

war, and such the neglect of his advisers, that notwithstanding the capture of Belgrade, and the inference which could hardly fail to be drawn from the knowledge of the warlike energy and activity, as well as the success of the Ottoman Emperor, no provision whatever had been made to provide for the consequences of a new invasion. An army of only twenty-five thousand men could be collected in haste to meet the enemy, and this force, nothing but the most culpable ignorance or the most presumptuous vanity could have presumed to be equal to the defence of Hungary. With this utterly inadequate force, however, the young king resolved to give battle to the enemy, and the consequence was such as might have been easily foreseen. The two armies met at Mohatcz, and although the Hungarians fought with valour and skill, their efforts were vain. A total defeat ensued. Louis himself, finding the battle lost, fled from the fatal scene, and on leaping a ditch his horse fell backwards upon him, and, encumbered as he was by his armour, he was drowned. This battle, which was fought on the 20th August 1526, was so fatal in its consequences, that it is still distinguished by the epithet of the destruction of Mohatcz.

After this decisive battle the Sultan marched northwards along the Danube, and without opposition, to Buda, which was at once delivered to him; and the city of Pesth, on the opposite bank of the river, followed the example of the capital, and opened her gates to the conqueror. It may be truly affirmed that the whole of Hungary now lay at the mercy of Solyman, which he might with little or no trouble have annexed to his other dominions. An occurrence took place, however, which called his attention to the eastern portion of his widely extended empire; and he retired from Hungary, carrying with him into captivity nearly two hundred thousand persons. The occurrence which delayed for a season the execution of the Sultan's purpose was a revolution in Asia, founded on a report which arose of his death, and which was taken advantage of by a Calendar, the son of a dervish, who announced that the time had arrived for shaking off the Ottoman yoke. This man particularly inveighed against the rapine

of the Pashas and their servants, and promised their riches to his followers. He began his career of public preaching at Adana, in Natolia; and in less than two months, partly by the desire of change, and partly owing to the powerful influence of the class of dervishes, he had assembled more than fifty thousand armed men. The regular forces of Asia had been called away to accompany Solyman into Hungary, and Peri Pasha endeavoured in vain to oppose those proceedings with what Asaps, or soldiers armed with arrows, he had ready as his guards. The insurgents triumphed everywhere, putting to death the Cadees and Imáms. The progress which the innovator made, in consequence of the weakened state of the military force, became at length so considerable as to threaten the existence of the Ottoman power, and to flatter the Calendar with a prospect of reigning over Anatolia. No means existed by which to put down this rebellion or to oppose its further progress, but the troops which Solyman had brought back from Hungary. The powerful Vizier Ibrahim, therefore, crossed into Asia with a numerous and victorious army, and everywhere, as he advanced, restored affairs to their usual state, after defeating the Calendar in a most sanguinary battle, in which the latter lost thirty thousand men. The empire had been brought by this revolution to the verge of destruction, but the overthrow of the Calendar and his death, accompanied by the most exquisite tortures which the cruel ingenuity of his conquerors could devise, terminated the danger.

CHAPTER XII.

A.D. 1526—1548.

Solyman's Hungarian campaign—Intrigues of Zapolya—Reduction of Buda, &c.—Siege of Vienna—Solyman retreats to Constantinople—Renews the war—Preparations of Charles V. for his reception before Vienna—Barbarossa—His history—Becomes sovereign of Algiers—Appointed Pasha by Solyman—Becomes master of Tunis—Solyman's eastern war—Possesses himself of Baghdad—Defensive warfare of the Shah—Returns to Constantinople—Death of Zapolya—Successes in Hungary—In Armenia—Capture of Van, Maragha, Mosul.

SOLYMAN I. had no sooner quelled the Asiatic insurrection, than he resumed his preparations for the Hungarian campaign. It is requisite, in order to perceive the highly favourable opportunity of conquest which now presented itself to the restless and ambitious spirit of the Sultan, to consider the state of Hungary after the death of the unfortunate Louis, who, as already stated, had been drowned after the disastrous battle of Mohatcz. Upon the death of Louis without issue, in virtue of his double connexion by marriage with the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria (afterwards emperor), and of a treaty concluded between his father Ladislaus and the House of Austria, the right to the throne devolved upon the latter, of which the Archduke was the representative. The royal widow Mary, sister to Ferdinand, convoked, for the purpose of ratifying this arrangement, a diet at Presburg, whither she had been compelled to fly when Pesth surrendered. Her intention, however, was frustrated by the counter measures of John Zapolya, Waywode of Transylvania, who, taking advantage of the deranged condition of public affairs, had, after solemnizing the obsequies of Louis, proclaimed himself king, and had caused himself to be crowned on the 11th November

1526. He appealed to an ancient law by which no one but a born Hungarian could occupy the throne, although it had never been fully acknowledged, and had been set aside by recent arrangements. Ferdinand now sent against him an army under the command of a brave man, Nicholas, Count of Salm, who defeated him near Tokay. By the exertions of the faithful Palatine Bathory, a considerable party was created in favour of Ferdinand, and his coronation was celebrated at Pesth on the 21st August 1527. After two successive defeats at Erlau and Szinye, Zapolya was compelled to abandon Transylvania and to take refuge in Poland. The magnates of Hungary now came over in great numbers to the party of Ferdinand, and he rejoiced in the prospect of an undisturbed possession of his newly acquired sovereignty. Zapolya, however, still persevered in his designs, and made every exertion to gain over to his cause the nobility of Poland and their king Sigismund, his brother-in-law by marriage. These attempts were in most instances fruitless; but he succeeded with Jerome Laski, Waywode of Siradia, a man of great enterprise, who promised him every possible support, but, conscious of the inadequacy of his own means to effect his friend's restoration in opposition to the House of Austria, advised him to betake himself to the Sultan. We are assured by several contemporary writers, that Zapolya long hesitated to follow this fatal counsel; and it is not incredible that he felt some compunction in throwing himself into the arms of the arch enemy of Christianity, and perhaps exposing the half of Europe to Mohammadan invasion. But his ambition and the state of his affairs urged him to the desperate step, and as soon as his resolution was adopted, Laski undertook in person a journey to Constantinople, accompanied by a renegade Venetian, who served him as interpreter. The Sultan, who asked for nothing better than pretext and opportunity to lead his hitherto unconquered forces into the heart of Christendom, received him graciously, and the more so as he had been highly irritated by the injudicious behaviour of an envoy from Ferdinand himself, who had chosen this unpropitious juncture to demand not merely the unconditional recognition of Ferdinand as king of Hungary, but to insist with violence on the restoration of

Belgrade. Demands such as these, addressed in peremptory language to a sovereign flushed with recent conquest, produced their immediate and natural consequences in facilitating the designs of Zapolya. A treaty was without delay concluded, by which Solyman undertook to effect his restoration to the throne of Hungary. Zapolya, by secret articles of this compact, engaged in return not merely to pay an annual tribute in money, but to place every ten years at the disposal of the Sultan, a tenth part of the population of Hungary, of both sexes, and to afford for ever free passage through the kingdom to the Ottoman forces. At the same time Solyman dismissed the envoy of Ferdinand, declaring that he would soon come to drive the latter out of a kingdom which he had unjustly acquired; that he would look for him on the field of Mohatcz, or even in Pesth; and should Ferdinand shrink from meeting him at either, he would offer him battle under the walls of Vienna itself.

The Sultan's preparations were made with great vigour, and in a short time an immense army was assembled in the great plain of Philippopolis. Although he had originally formed the intention of marching with it in person, he nevertheless appointed to its command his famous Grand Vizier and favourite Ibrahim.*

On the 10th of April 1529, however, the Sultan himself

* This man was by birth a Greek, of moderate stature, dark complexion, and had been in infancy sold as a slave to Solyman. He soon by his intelligence, his musical talents, his aspiring and enterprising spirit, won the favour of his master; and after Solyman's accession to the throne, participated with him in the exercise of the highest powers of the state, in the character of vizier, brother-in-law, friend and favourite, and enjoyed such distinctions as neither Turkish favourite nor minister has ever before or since attained. He not only often interchanged letters with his master, but frequently his clothes, slept in the same chamber, had his own seraglio in the Hippodrome, and his own colour, sky-blue, for the livery of his pages and for his standard. He insisted in his communications with Ferdinand, on the title of brother and cousin. In a Latin verse which he addressed to the Venetian ambassador, he signified that while his master had the attributes of Jupiter, he himself was the Cæsar of the world. Yet all this exaltation was destined to the usual termination of the career of an Oriental favourite. He was murdered in 1536 by command of Solyman, on suspicion of a design to place himself on the throne.

marched from Constantinople at the head of an army of at least two hundred thousand men. Zapolya, in the meantime, had applied to nearly all the powers of Europe, not excepting even the Pope Clement VII., whom he knew to be at this period on indifferent terms with the emperor, urging them to support what he termed his just cause. These applications were unavailing. The Pope replied by excommunicating him —by exhorting the magnates of Hungary to the support of Ferdinand—and by urging the latter to draw the sword without delay in defence of Christendom.

Supported, nevertheless, by some Polish nobles, and by some bands of Turkish freebooters, Zapolya contrived early in April to enter Hungary at the head of about two thousand men, summoning on all sides the inhabitants to his support. Near Kaschan, however, he was attacked and completely routed by the Austrian commander.

Meanwhile, the Turkish army advanced without other hindrance than heavy rains and the natural difficulties of the passes of the Balkan, and by the end of June had effected the passage of the rivers of Servia, and had crossed the Hungarian frontier. Before the main body marched a terrible advanced guard of thirty thousand men, spreading desolation in every direction, and led by the terrible Mihal Oglou, whose ancestor, Michael of the Pointed Beard, derived his origin from the imperial race of the Palæologi, and on the female side was related to the royal houses of France and Savoy.

Encouraged by the progress of the Ottoman forces, Zapolya again ventured to advance upon Hungary, and so many of his old adherents joined his standard, that he collected an army of six thousand men, with which he joined the Sultan on the field of Mohatcz. Zapolya was received with acclamation by the Turks, and with presents and other marks of honour by the Sultan, whose hand he kissed in homage for the sovereignty of Hungary, and by whom he was assured of future protection. After the army had refreshed itself, it proceeded on its march, occupying the fortified places to the right and left; and in thirteen days after its departure from Mohatcz, the army of the Sultan assaulted Buda, the inhabitants of

which had, for the most part, fled either to Vienna or Poland. The garrison consisted of only about a thousand German and Hungarian soldiers, under Thomas Nadaski. The Turks, after continuing a well-sustained fire from the neighbouring heights for four days, were proceeding—although no breach had been effected—to storm the defences, when the courage of the garrison gave way. The latter, with the few remaining inhabitants, retired into the citadel, and the Turks occupied the town. Nadaski was firmly resolved to hold out to the last; but the soldiers had lost all courage; two of their German officers entered into a capitulation with the Turks, and answered Nadaski's remonstrances by putting him in prison. The Vizier rejoiced at the prospect of removing an obstacle which might have materially affected the ulterior plan of his campaign at so advanced a period of the season, and eagerly acceded to the conditions, promising them life and liberty; and thus, by mutiny and treason, was the fortress surrendered on the 7th September. The traitors soon found reason to repent their crime; the garrison was massacred, but there is reason to believe that this occurred without the sanction of the Sultan. The Janizaries were in a temper bordering on mutiny on being disappointed, in consequence of the surrender, of a general plunder of the fortress. Through the ranks of these men, thus irritated, the garrison had to defile, amid loud expressions of contempt for their cowardice. A German soldier, incensed at this treatment, exclaimed that if he had been in command, no surrender would have exposed them to it. This exclamation was received, as might be expected, with redoubled insult, and the stout German losing patience, struck one of the Janizaries to the ground. A general massacre immediately ensued, and not more than sixty of the garrison escaped, part of whom saved themselves by flight, and part were made prisoners. The Sultan, however, not only eulogized the fidelity and firmness of Nadaski, but dismissed him on his parole not to serve against the Turkish troops during the war. On the 14th September, Zapolya was installed on the Hungarian throne, and a commandant being left in charge of the captured city, Mohammad

Bey was sent on towards Vienna to clear the roads, and obtain intelligence, prior to the march of the main body of the Ottoman army to the siege of that important place. On the 21st of September, Solyman with his main army crossed the Raab at Altenburg, while his advanced corps under Michael Oglou, after spreading terror far and wide around them, reached the neighbourhood of Vienna.

Contemporary writers have exhausted their powers of language in describing the atrocities perpetrated by these terrible soldiers, "who," says Knolles, "entered Austria with fire and sword, miserably burning and destroying the country. The poor people, not knowing where to hide themselves, fled as men and women dismayed, carrying with them their beloved children, and whatever they could, as things saved out of the midst of the fire. For whatsoever fell into the enemies' hands was lost without recure; the old men were slain, the young men led into captivity, woman ravished before their husbands' faces, and then slain with their children; young infants were ript out of their mothers' wombs, and others taken from their breasts and cut in pieces, or else thrust upon sharp stakes, yielding up again that breath which they had but a little before received.*" Such merciless fury struck terror into every heart, and produced a prompt surrender of most of the places not effectually garrisoned. Fünfkirchen, Stahlweissenburg, and Pesth, fell, without a blow, into the hands of the enemy. In Gran the inhabitants even refused to admit the garrison sent by Ferdinand for its occupation, and the Archbishop Paul so far forgot his duty as to surrender the town and citadel to the Sultan. Comorn was abandoned by its garrison. Raab also fell, but not till it had been set on fire by the fugitives, and Altenburg was betrayed into the Sultan's hands. Brück, on the contrary, defended itself stoutly; and the Sultan, pleased with the constancy and courage of its defenders, willingly accorded them terms, in virtue of which they were pledged to do him homage only after the fall of Vienna. Content with this compact, he ceased his attack on the city, marched past under its walls, and strictly forbade

* Knolles' Life of Solyman.

all injury to the district in its dependence. Wiener Neustadt also defended itself with spirit, and in one day repelled five attempts to storm its defences in the most heroic manner. Several other places, among them Closterneuburg and Perchtoldsdorf, and some castles, held out with success. Such occasional opposition was far from distasteful to the warlike Sultan, for whom easy conquests had not sufficient attraction. His ambition looked forward to a sovereignty of the West corresponding to that which his ancestors had asserted over the East, and he beheld with complacency the valour of those whom he looked upon as his future subjects. He therefore detested cowardice in the ranks of his opponents, and punished it with severity. Meantime, on the approach of the danger, Ferdinand had called meetings of the States, as well in Austria as in other provinces of his dominions; and had for this object proceeded in person through Styria, Carinthia, Tyrol, and Bohemia. The utmost exertions were made to meet the danger. In Austria every tenth man was called out for service, and other provinces furnished considerable forces; in case of the actual invasion of Austria, the Bohemians agreed to send every man capable of bearing arms. The King, however, saw that even with all this aid he would be no match in the field for the Sultan's force; and he turned his thoughts to the empire, in which the religious disputes of the Reformation presented serious difficulties in the way of the assistance he required. The aid obtained was, however, very scanty, not exceeding twelve thousand foot and four thousand cavalry.

While these arrangements were in progress, the advance of the Ottoman forces raised the consternation of Vienna to the highest pitch, and the necessary preparations were made with almost superhuman exertion, but in such haste and with so little material, that they could only be considered as very inadequate to the emergency. The city itself occupied then the same ground as at present, the defences were old and in great measure in ruins, the walls scarcely six feet thick, and the outer palisade so frail and insufficient that the name *Stadtzaun*, or city hedge, was literally as well as figuratively appropriate. The citadel was an old building

which still exists under the name of Schweizer Hof. All the houses which lay too near the wall were levelled to the ground; where the wall was weak or out of repair, a new entrenched line of earthen defence was constructed and well palisaded; within the city itself, from the Stuben to the Kärnthner or Carinthian gate, a new wall twenty feet high was constructed. The bank of the Danube was also entrenched and protected with a rampart capable of resisting artillery. To guard against fire, the shingles with which the houses were roofed were removed, and the pavement of the streets was taken up to deaden the effect of the enemy's shot. Parties were detached to scour the neighbouring country for provisions, and to bring in cattle and forage; and further, to provide against the evils of a protracted siege, useless consumers, women, children, old men, and ecclesiastics were forced to withdraw from the city. This painful but necessary measure, although it prevented any failure of subsistence during the siege, had the consequence of exposing many of the fugitives to massacre or captivity at the hands of the Turkish troops.

The active defence of the city was committed to the Pfalzgraf Philip, and associated with him was the veteran hero Nicholas, Count of Salm, who arrived from Upper Hungary with a chosen band of light troops, and on whose proved fidelity and valour Ferdinand principally relied.

As the Ottoman army approached, a council of war was held in Vienna, and it was resolved, in order to neutralize as far as possible the advantages to the besiegers of any positions in the neighbourhood, to sacrifice all buildings within range of fire from the walls. This indispensable measure was immediately carried out; but its hurried execution led to the utmost suffering and distress. The resolution was adopted when the enemy were almost at the very gates of the city, and circumstances rendered it impossible to carry it into deliberate execution. The most valuable of the moveable property was first conveyed within the walls, the proprietors left to save all they possibly could, and the rest was given up to the soldiers of the garrison. The work of destruction then

began, and fire being applied to the buildings, eight hundred houses were burnt down in four days, including the great city hospital, and several churches and other great and even magnificent buildings. When these measures had been taken, the gates of the city were all walled up with strong masonry, with the exception of one. On the 23d September, while the suburbs were in full conflagration, a strong body of Turks pressed forward as far as St. Marks, and cut to pieces a number of invalids who had been left there to their fate. This occasioned the first sally from the city of five hundred cuirassiers. The Turks took a few prisoners, and, after beheading some of the invalids, compelled the prisoners to bear the heads to the presence of the Sultan, then on his march, in order to gladden him with the sight of these grisly trophies of his first success over Vienna. The Sultan interrogated the prisoners as to the strength of the garrison and the position of Ferdinand, on both which points they gave him accurate answers. Upon this Solyman released four of the prisoners, presented each of them with three ducats, and sent them into the city with the following message:—"If the city would surrender on terms, the conditions should be arranged with its commanders without the walls, none of his people should be allowed to enter the city, and the property and persons of the inhabitants should be secured. It was Solyman's sole desire to follow the king till he should find him, and then to retire to his own dominions. Should the city, however, venture to resist, he would not retreat till he had reduced it, and then he would spare neither old nor young, not the child in the mother's womb, and would so utterly destroy the city that men should not know where it stood. He would not rest his head till Vienna and the whole of Christendom were under his subjection, and it was his settled purpose within three days, namely, on the feast of St. Michael, to break his fast in Vienna." The other prisoners he retained about his person.

On the 26th September, Solyman sent into the city a Bohemian, one of the garrison which had surrendered in Altenburg, contemptuously offering to send his other countrymen

whom he had taken prisoners to strengthen the garrison. The Bohemian, however, was sent back by the besieged with two Turkish prisoners, each of whom was presented with two ducats, with the reply that they had more garrison than enough in Vienna, and that the Sultan might keep his Bohemians.

Three summonses to surrender were, on the arrival of the whole of the Sultan's force, addressed to the commanders of the city, and four prisoners richly habited and supplied with presents repeated the Sultan's threats in case of refusal, and his offers, in the event of a capitulation, of honourable treatment; but the defenders of the city returned no reply.

The appearance which the vicinity of Vienna now presented was most extraordinary, and must have been witnessed with astonishment as well as horror by the inhabitants, who from the walls beheld the array of their enemies across the smoking ruins of those dwellings which a few days previously had been the abodes of domestic happiness and comfort.

The whole country within sight of the walls was covered with tents as far as the eye could reach, from the summit of St. Stephen's tower. The Janizaries had taken possession of the ruins of the suburbs, which afforded them an excellent cover from the fire of the garrison. They cut loopholes in the walls yet standing, and from these they directed a fire of small ordnance and musketry on the walls of the city. In the distance the tent of Solyman rose in superior splendour over all others. "Hangings of the richest tissue separated its numerous compartments from each other. Costly carpets, and cushions and divans studded with jewels, formed its furniture. Its numerous pinnacles were terminated by knobs of massive gold. The colour of the chief compartment was green striped with gold. Five hundred archers of the royal guard kept watch there night and day. Around it rose in great though inferior splendour the tents of ministers and favourites; and twelve thousand Janizaries, the terror of their enemies, and not unfrequently of their masters, were encamped in a circle round this central sanctuary."

The total force of the besiegers is stated by the most trustworthy authors, at nearly three hundred thousand, and the

artillery amounted to about three hundred pieces. The investment of the city was completed, and the passage of the Danube effectually closed on the 27th September, and soon after, a skirmish ensued, in which some two hundred Turks and several of their officers were killed.

The Ottoman commanders not possessing cannon of very large calibre, the difficulty of bringing such pieces to Vienna being great, confined themselves in a great measure to mining operations, in which they possessed great skill. Numerous mines were sunk under the city walls, and on being blown up caused very great damage, and exposed the besieged to the attack of the enemy who were ready to take advantage of every opportunity to assault the works.

We shall not describe with minuteness the particulars of this memorable siege. The lateness of the season began to tell upon the besiegers. By the 11th of October they had already made their three grand assaults upon the city, but to no purpose, and three is a magic number with the Turks; expecting a speedy surrender of the city, too, no adequate arrangements had been made for the commissariat, and thus it became obvious that some very decisive measure must be carried out. It was resolved, accordingly, that on the 14th a final assault with all the Ottoman forces should take place, and that if it should fail, that the siege should be raised. The Sultan immediately proclaimed the rewards to be given for special service at the assault. To the first man who should mount the wall, he offered promotion from his military rank to the next step above it, and a sum of 30,000 aspers.* The Sultan inspected all the preparations in person, and expressed his satisfaction. Nor were they idle in the city. While the soldiers stood to their arms, the citizens of both sexes, and of all classes, ages, and professions, worked incessantly in removing rubbish, digging intrenchments, throwing up works, strengthening the ramparts, and filling up the breaches, giving at the same time the utmost attention to

* The asper is about four-fifths of a penny sterling. This therefore being £100, was an immense sum, when even 200 florins was a considerable fortune.

the mining operations of the enemy. At length the eventful day arrived when the last and great assault was to take place.

At break of day on the 14th October the army, arranged in three powerful bodies, advanced to the assault, led by officers of the highest rank. It appears, however, the desperate courage and the contempt of death so conspicuous among the Turkish soldiery were not so remarkable as usual. Their officers found it requisite to urge them forward with sabre-edge, but they refused obedience, saying "they preferred to die by the hands of their own officers, rather than to face the long muskets of the Spaniards, and the German spits, as they called the long swords of the lanzknechts." At noon two mines were sprung, to the right and left of the Kärnthner gate, and a third was fortunately detected, and its charge of twenty barrels of powder fell into the hands of the counter-miners. A breach, nevertheless, of twenty-four fathoms in breadth, resulted from the explosion of the mines which succeeded, and through this, supported by the fire of their batteries, the Janizaries made repeated attempts to enter, but in every instance were repulsed as before. These attacks were the last expiring efforts of exhausted men; and on their failure the Sultan was compelled to abandon all hope of taking possession of the city, and issued a general order of retreat. Its execution was attended by an act of atrocious cruelty. The Janizaries broke up their encampment an hour before midnight, and set on fire their huts, their forage, and every article which they could not carry with them, thus destroying the greater portion of the vast multitude of their prisoners of all ages and both sexes. The younger portion of these alone were dragged along with their retiring columns, tied together by ropes, and destined to slavery. The old of both sexes and the children were, for the most part, flung alive into the flames of the burning camp, and the remainder cut to pieces or impaled. The glare of the conflagration, and the shrieks of the sufferers disturbed, through the night, the rest so dearly earned by the brave defenders of the city; and though their approaching deliverance might be read in the one, it

was probably easy to conjecture from the other the horrors by which that deliverance was accompanied.

On the 17th of October 1529, the Grand Vizier began his retreat, as the winter was setting in; and so late as the 28th of November the Sultan arrived at Constantinople, having left the greater portion of his exhausted troops at Belgrade, Nissa, and Hadrianople, to recruit their strength for the campaign of the succeeding year.

Faithful to the impulses of his unsatiable ambition, and resolved to conquer his mortal enemies the Hungarians, the spring of 1531 beheld Sultan Solyman once more in the field, and entering Hungary with a force of four hundred thousand men.

The danger to which his dominions were now exposed decided the Emperor Charles V. to take the field; and his forces were formidable enough to intimidate even his great rival. He assembled at Vienna two hundred and sixty thousand veteran troops, who were called together from the countries between the Vistula and the Rhine, the ocean and the Alps, and led by a body of native princes, burning to uphold the safety and honour of their fatherland. With the right wing commanded by the Emperor, and the left wing by King Ferdinand, the Christian host undauntedly awaited the approach of the Ottoman army. But Solyman, obtaining exact intelligence of the force of his enemy, declined giving him battle, and, throwing bridges over the Drave, repassed that river, and retreated without delay to Belgrade, and thence to Constantinople.

We shall now turn our attention to a scene different from those which hitherto beheld the display of the Sultan's military genius. When the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem were driven from Rhodes, they formed anew their establishment in the island of Malta; the situation of which afforded them ample opportunities of indulging with success those sentiments of hostility with which they could not but regard the Turks, by attacking the merchant vessels and ravaging the maritime parts of the Ottoman Empire. It became therefore of no small importance to Solyman to obtain some effec-

tual means of counteracting the danger to which his territories were thus exposed. At this juncture a favourable opportunity occurred, by which to accomplish this important object.

Several years before this period there had existed in Mytelene two brothers, who having seized upon a small vessel, became pirates, and infested the Mediterranean, capturing innumerable vessels till they became the terror of every merchantman. The names of these corsairs were Hayrudek and Hayradin. After repeated successes they had become so powerful, that, after assisting Selim, King of Algiers, they at length slew him, and usurped his kingdom. Hayrudek having been slain, he was succeeded by Hayradin, now exercising the rule and government of Algiers. Solyman highly appreciated the daring spirit of the corsair, who had assumed the surname of Barbarossa, and whose desire it was to convert the coast of Africa into a powerful maritime state, in vassalage to the Ottoman Porte. Solyman therefore created Barbarossa his Capitan Pasha, defined his jurisdiction, and placed all the seas and islands under his absolute control, constituting him the third chief officer of the empire, with authority at sea equal to that of the Grand Vizier on land.

Barbarossa with the aid of Solyman, soon made himself master of the city and sovereignty of Tunis, expelling from thence the reigning prince, and having ravaged the coasts of Italy, captured Terracina. The acquisition of such a leader as Barbarossa, soon elevated the Turkish marine into importance.

At this period, when the Hungarian war had proved distasteful and unpropitious to Solyman, he was influenced by the persuasions of his Vizier, Ibrahim, to commence a new warfare, and to resume those hostile designs against Persia which had hitherto been suspended; and, as if the flames of war thus excited in two continents, Africa and Asia, were not sufficient for the ambition of Solyman, an attack was also directed against India by a powerful flotilla, conveying a body of troops, which sailed from the ports of the Red Sea to attack the establishments of the Portuguese at Goa, and other parts of the Malabar coast. The extensive projects of this expedi-

tion, may have arisen from the desire of Solyman to secure to his states the rich traffic of the East, and to prevent the consequences of the great commercial revolution recently effected by the important discovery of the new route to India in doubling the Cape of Good Hope.

Solyman despatched, early in the spring, a Persian prince who had joined his court, with a strong force, to prepare the way for his approach. He, finding the country unfurnished with defenders, pushed on as far as Tauris, of which city he took possession; he was, however, speedily put in great alarm by the rapid approach of the Persian Shah. Solyman had taken the route of Upper Armenia, and, on receipt of the intelligence, he hastened his march, and joined his troops. The capture of Tauris, and the powerful army led by the Sultan, threatened total ruin to the Persian monarchy, which could have been saved by no other means than the defensive system, adopted and carried out with great skill by the Shah, who retired with his fine army of horsemen unbroken to Sultania, and prepared to devastate the country on all sides, and trust to the operation of a burning sun, and the necessities of the enemy, for the eventual security of his kingdom. The route from Tauris to Sultania leads for one hundred and eighty miles over a mountainous and rugged country. Solyman followed the track of the Persians, desirous to bring them to battle; but the Shah had retired into the mountains, and cut off all intelligence of his position. Unwilling to venture his host amid the difficult defiles, which lead to Sultania, Solyman halted in the plains. While thus encamped, a tremendous storm of wind occurred, and overturning the Turkish tents, brought down vast quantities of snow from the peaks of the mountains, so that numbers of the soldiers perished with cold. The Sultan, therefore, found it necessary to retire from the inauspicious neighbourhood, and immediately directed his march towards Assyria. On arriving at Baghdad, the sudden appearance of his troops, together with the circumstance of the city being totally unable to withstand so mighty an enemy, led the citizens immediately to open their gates and welcome the Sultan. The glory of having thus seated himself

in the capital of the once powerful Kalifs, made Solyman resolve to winter there. Receiving from the head of the 'Ulama the ensigns of authority of the Assyrian kings, he won the hearts of the people by his great magnificence, and he soon became master of the whole country, apportioning to his governors its rich and important provinces. The disasters of the past campaign increased the Sultan's desire to meet and vanquish the Shah; having, therefore, recruited his army from Egypt, Syria, and Palestine, so as to nearly equal its former numbers, he again conducted them to the deserts of Persia. The Shah had occupied himself the winter of 1534, while the Sultan was at Baghdad, by laying waste more completely all the plains near Tauris. The Sultan, therefore, finding neither enemies nor provisions, returned to Tauris to revenge his ill success upon the defenceless city. But the Shah, who watched every step of his formidable foe, had sent a strong corps to wait for the Turks at the foot of the Taurian mountains. The Turks, believing themselves secure, were spread over the country pillaging, when they were at midnight attacked by the Persian cavalry; and, to increase their disorder, the camp was set on fire, which gave the Persian troops light to complete the carnage; and thus the sack of Tauris and the fall of Baghdad were amply avenged, and the Persians retired before break of day, laden with spoil and captives, and Solyman was compelled to march to Constantinople with a broken and dispirited army.

While the Sultan had been pursuing his designs upon the East, his naval forces under Barbarossa were gaining repeated conquests in the Mediterranean. Fourteen of the most beautiful islands of the Cyclades were wrested from the Venetian Republic, and added to the rapidly increasing dominions of the Sultan; and, in addition to these, several important places in Candia, and other islands and maritime portions of the Mediterranean.

Zapolya, who, as already stated, had been secured on the throne of Hungary by Solyman at Buda, died in 1540, leaving an infant son to the care of the Sultan; but Ferdinand, in virtue of the arrangement which entailed on him the Hunga-

rian crown, having been made aware of these events, marched with an army to Buda, and demanded the kingdom as his own. The Sultan immediately proceeded towards the city with a sufficient force, but Ferdinand had already been driven from before the walls. On entering, the Sultan was received by the widow of Zapolya as the protector of her infant son, who had been recently crowned by the name of Stephen. Solyman seized the favourable opportunity, transferred the widowed queen and her son to Transylvania, and garrisoned Buda and the other chief towns in Hungary with his own troops. All this was performed without opposition from the Emperor Charles V., who was at that moment conducting the siege of Algiers, which resulted in the complete discomfiture of his fleet and army.

From this period the most uninterrupted success crowned the arms of Solyman. The exploits of his admiral Barbarossa, and his own victories in the East, would fill many volumes. In 1548 Solyman once more marched toward the East, and made himself master of Tauris, from which his garrison had been expelled. He also became master of the city of Van, situated in a delightful district on the magnificent lake of that name. He added Armenia to his territories, besieged and took Erivan, the mountainous province of Nakshivan, and the whole extent of country between Tauris and Maragha. Peace, however, was soon after made between the Sultan and the Shah, by which the cities of Van, Maragha, and Mosul, were declared the boundaries of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER XIII.

A.D. 1548—1566.

Mustafa, son of Solyman—His remarkable qualities—Hated by Roxalana—Unjustly suspected by the Sultan—Put to death—Rage of the Janizaries in consequence—Further conquests in the Mediterranean—Unsuccessful siege of Szigeth—Quarrel between the surviving sons of Solyman—Bajazet takes refuge in Persia—Betrayed into his father's hands—Put to death—Selim declared heir to the throne—Expedition of the Knights of Malta against Tripoli—Its disastrous result—State of Hungary—Siege of Szigeth—Heroic defence of Zriny—Fall of Szigeth—Death of Solyman.

AT this period, when the celebrated Solyman had acquired so great a degree of distinction, and had extended with such remarkable success the limits of his empire, and increased so greatly his own reputation as a general and a conqueror, if we look into the private scenes of his domestic life, we shall find fully illustrated the well-known truth, that wealth cannot purchase happiness, nor the possession of dignity shield its owner from the assaults of private grief and mortification.

Solyman had a son named Mustafa. The mother of this young prince was a Circassian, extremely remarkable, even among her highly favoured race, for her personal charms. Mustafa largely partook of the advantages of his Circassian descent on his mother's side, and possessed that rare perfection of masculine beauty and strength, which, combined with great skill in martial exercises, and a chivalrous and magnanimous spirit, made him the idol of the nation, and especially of the army, who, now that Solyman was advanced in life, looked forward to the reign of their young prince as a period of increasing military glory and renown.

The Sultan, however, had married Roxalana, a woman of

great beauty, and was entirely devoted to her. She had been a captive and a slave, but had gained her freedom; and by intriguing with the Muftee, had induced the Sultan to marry her. By this wife the Sultan had four sons and a daughter; and it became the great object of her ambition to obtain for one of her sons the crown, which it appeared to her that Mustafa, from his deserved popularity and high personal qualities, must sooner or later possess.

The first step toward this object it was not difficult to accomplish. Roxalana possessed sufficient influence with the Sultan to procure the appointment of Mustafa to the government of Caramania, to which he was sent, together with his mother, and accompanied, as was usual, by such advisers as were requisite to direct him in the government of his province. The accomplishment of this first step toward her object was, however, by no means sufficient to satisfy the jealous hatred of the Sultana. She could be satisfied with nothing less than the destruction of the prince. She took into her counsels Rustan Pasha, who had married her daughter, the Princess Chameria, and unhappily found him too ready to further her designs, in consequence of Rustan's alarm lest, if Mustafa should obtain the throne, he would visit upon him the attempt he had made, from motives of economy, to reduce the allowance made to him by the Sultan his father.

Roxalana was too fully determined to effect the ruin of the object of her hatred to be easily deterred from her purpose; but the attempt was one of extreme hazard and difficulty. Although the prince was absent, the army still remained entirely devoted to him, and his high credit, his valour, and his magnanimity, rendered it very difficult to charge him with criminality. One of the first steps taken to that end was by Rustan Pasha, who, being at the head of affairs, had sufficient power to effect much toward the object. He took care privately to inform those who held governorships in Syria, that Mustafa was suspected by the Sultan of a desire to seize upon the throne by means of the army, and he charged them carefully to mark and report his conduct, informing them at the same time that the more they should

be able to criminate the prince, the more acceptable would their letters be to the Sultan. These hints, however, produced little effect. All the tidings Rustan Pasha received only certified him of the princely disposition, the courage, the wisdom, and the bounty of the unsuspecting object of his malice.

Meantime Roxalana was not idle. Wherever an opportunity offered, she spoke to Solyman, referring to the history of the Sultan Selim, who had deprived his grandfather Bajazet of his throne and life, and besought him to take warning, and provide against the danger with which she led him to think he was threatened by Mustafa. At length a favourable opportunity occurred which enabled this cruel woman to give a definite shape to those vague suspicions which she had succeeded in awakening in the Sultan's mind. In a letter from the Pasha, who had been appointed to aid the prince in the government of Caramania, there occurred a brief reference to the subject of a marriage projected between Mustafa and the daughter of the Shah of Persia, with which he thought it requisite to acquaint the Sultan, so that he himself might be exonerated of any of the consequences which might ensue if such a project were carried into effect. Rustan and Roxalana at once perceived that this report furnished them with the very means of effecting the purpose of which they had been for so many years in quest, and they forthwith succeeded in convincing the Sultan that his son had no other object than to dethrone him, and that the intended marriage was a step towards this design; the consequence was, that Solyman resolved to put Mustafa to death. By the advice of the perfidious Rustan Pasha, the Sultan made known his purpose of invading Persia, while his real object was to seize upon the person of Mustafa whom he believed by this time to be in open rebellion. In 1553, accordingly, having raised a large force, the Sultan passed over into Syria and encamping near Aleppo, summoned Mustafa to his presence. The prince, although amazed at the proceedings of his aged father, and by no means unaware of the designs formed against him in his father's court, was sufficiently confident of his own innocence

not to hesitate in obeying the summons issued, while in the meantime the infamous Rustan continued to fill the mind of the Sultan with false statements regarding him. When Mustafa arrived at the encampment with his retinue, he habited himself in white garments in token of his innocence, and, laying aside his weapons, advanced to the tent of the Sultan, which he entered, upon which he was instantly seized upon by seven mutes, who were in waiting, and strangled before his father's sight. One of the sons of Roxalana coming at the tyrant's command into the tent at that moment, after addressing the Sultan in terms of bitter and well deserved reproach, overwhelmed with grief and horror, stabbed himself to the heart, and expired on the body of his brother. The consequences of the murder of Mustafa would have proved ruinous to any Sultan less revered by the Janizaries than Solyman. They immediately rose in arms, and were with extreme difficulty pacified.

The pressure of years and domestic disquietude did not diminish the unceasing love of conquest by which the Sultan had been so long animated. Barbarossa, whose naval exploits had greatly extended the reputation of his arms had died in 1547, but Solyman still laboured to maintain the maritime influence which he had succeeded in attaining by his means. Considerable additions had thus been made to his conquests in the Mediterranean; and in 1554 the island of Elba, and other places subject to the duke of Florence, were seized upon. In Hungary, also, the Sultan still pursued his schemes of conquest, and after having taken several strongholds, the Pasha of Buda, in 1556, besieged Szigeth, a place of great importance. But notwithstanding the several violent assaults made by the Ottoman forces, the fortress successfully held out, and the Pasha was forced to raise the siege, which he did with the fixed determination that the fortress should yet be taken—a resolution as we shall see not taken in vain.*

* Some idea of the furious nature of the attack on Szigeth, and the extraordinary vigour of the defence of a small garrison against the large army brought against it, may be formed, when it is considered that upwards of ten thousand large cannon balls were shot into the fortress during the siege.

Bajazet and Selim, neither of whom were possessed of more than very ordinary abilities, now began a career of hatred and jealousy. To aid him in his purposes, Bajazet procured a person to simulate the murdered Prince Mustafa, who, after occasioning great trouble, was at last seized and put to death, after having avowed the part which had been acted by Bajazet. Roxalana, who had seemed at first to favour him, now withdrew her influence, and took up the cause of Selim. The two brothers, who were governors of provinces, levied armies to invade each other's territories; but Bajazet, being proscribed by the Sultan, alarmed for his own safety, quitted his government, and threw himself under the protection of Ismail Sofi of Persia, who rejoiced in the opportunity which the possession of the prince's person afforded him of negotiating with the Sultan on favourable terms.

Scarcely any event of his reign excited greater rage in the mind of Solyman, than that his rebel son should have fled to the Persians, whom he had himself for many years regarded as his enemies, and had so frequently endeavoured to subdue. He instantly made preparations for war. His troops, however, were so disheartened with their former hardships, that they refused to march; and Solyman, or rather Roxalana, having bribed the ministers of the Sofi, the life of the unhappy prince was made the price of union between the two states. An ambassador of the Sultan presented to the Shah six hundred thousand crowns of gold, the stipulated sum for the part he had promised to act. Hassan, the Sultan's envoy, found Bajazet in prison, and so pale and wan, and his hair and beard so overgrown, that although brought up with him from a child, he could not recognise him until he was shaved and trimmed. The bow-string speedily relieved the ill-fated prince from his misery as well as his dreams of ambition. His sons were involved in his destiny; and the sepulchre of the Ottoman race thus again was opened to receive the murdered victims of an entire descent. Selim was immediately declared the presumptive heir of the Ottoman throne.

The incidents now mentioned took place in 1559, the

same year in which the celebrated Emperor Charles V. carried out his resolution of retiring from public life, and resigning his empire to his brother Ferdinand.

After the death of the celebrated Barbarossa, the Ottoman fleet had among other conquests seized upon Tripoli; and at this period the Turkish ships possessed so great a degree of power in the Mediterranean, and especially along the African coast, that no merchant vessel belonging to any of those nations whom the Turks considered their enemies could with safety navigate that sea. The Knights of Malta accordingly, after much solicitation, prevailed upon the King of Spain to aid them with a fleet; and, by the united efforts of the Spanish King, the Duke of Florence, and the Knights themselves, a fleet was collected to endeavour to recover Tripoli, consisting of a hundred ships and galleys, commanded by Andreas Gonzaga. It was resolved that this formidable armament should attack the island of Zerbi or Menong, on the African coast, and in February 1560, the fleet sailed from Malta to the coast of Tripoli. The castle of that island was defended by Dragut, a formidable pirate with a large force of Janizaries, who, before throwing himself into the stronghold, had sent to Constantinople to request additional aid from Solyman, informing him at the same time of the intention of his enemies in assembling their fleet. Dragut, however, without waiting to be besieged, vacated the fortress, which was soon taken possession of by the forces of the Knights of Malta. But notwithstanding this favourable beginning, the result of the expedition was in the highest degree discouraging to the Sultan's opponents. A powerful fleet arrived from Constantinople in the month of May, and before which time it was thought proper for the greater part of the Christian ships to return to Malta; but as the remaining vessels were endeavouring to get to sea, a contrary wind arose which rendered it almost impossible, while it was highly favourable to the Ottoman vessels. The result was, that many of the ships of the combined fleet ran aground, and they and others were taken or destroyed by the Sultan's fleet, so that no less than seventeen galleys and the greater number of the large ships

were lost in this disastrous expedition. The garrison in the castle of Zerbi were now reduced to the utmost distress, deprived of all hope of succour from their friends, and everywhere surrounded by their furious and determined enemies; and after suffering the greatest distress, they found it necessary to surrender. Eighteen thousand of the Christian troops were thus destroyed, some at sea, some by famine and sickness, and others by the sword of their conquerors. Several of the captured ships and a large number of prisoners, many of them distinguished Spaniards, were carried to Constantinople; and so great was the interest excited by the victory thus gained, that Solyman himself embarked in a galley at the garden of the seraglio to witness the triumphant return of his fleet. Although the occasion was one of great rejoicing to the people of Constantinople, yet Solyman was too much accustomed to victory to express any emotion; and the ambassador of King Ferdinand, who was present, thus refers to the absence of all emotion on the part of the Sultan, on his progress to the mosque to return thanks for his victory:—"I myself saw him two days after, going to the church with the same countenance he had always, with the same severity and gravity, as if this victory had nothing concerned him, nor anything chanced strange or unexpected, so capable was the great heart of that old sire of any fortune, were it never so great, and his mind so settled as to receive so great applause and rejoicing without moving."*

The Sultan having attained this advantage over his adversaries in the Mediterranean, resolved to complete the conquest by sending a suitable force to destroy the power of the Knights of Malta, and to this he was led, not more by his own love of military enterprise than by the representations of Barbarossa's son Cassana, who was king of Algiers, and those of Dragut, who was governor of Tripoli. Accordingly, a powerful fleet sailed on this important expedition early in 1565, and, after receiving reinforcements and taking in troops on their way, entered one of the harbours on the north side of the island of Malta, in the middle of the month of May.

* Busbek, quoted by Knolles, vol. i. p. 531.

The preparations made for the defence of that important place, the gallantry of John Valetta, the Grand Master of the order, and his brave companions, are beyond all praise. After enduring the most furious attacks of their enemies from May to October, they at length had the satisfaction of seeing the Turkish fleet take its departure, after having lost twenty-four thousand men.

Three years prior to this period, Solyman had entered into a treaty of peace with Ferdinand of Germany, but that prince died in 1564, and was succeeded by his son Maximilian II. This event gave birth to new disasters in Hungary. Maximilian, after securing from the two religious parties into which his subjects were divided, the promise of the requisite supplies, commenced operations against Sigismund Zapolya, King of Transylvania, as well as against the Pashas of the Ottoman empire, who held places of strength in Hungary. The warlike Sultan, although now advanced in years, at once accepted the challenge, and resolved to inflict a severe chastisement on Maximilian. The preparations for the campaign were made on an immense scale, and the grandeur which surrounded the veteran conqueror on his march from Constantinople were entirely worthy of his title of Solyman the Magnificent. The Muftee had issued his special decree, the fetva, to encourage all who should volunteer on this new campaign; and while a vast number were thus added to the army, the regular force itself was composed of fifty thousand Janizaries, Bostangees and Spahees, and more than a hundred thousand Timariots.

The Sultan having met King Sigismund at Belgrade, and assured him of his most energetic support, continued his march by the fortresses of Peterwardein and Essek, and having crossed the Drave, halted at Funfkirchen, within a short distance of Szigeth. This fortress, as formerly stated, had successfully resisted the last attack upon it, and Solyman, whose martial genius always rejoiced to encounter difficulty, had resolved to become, at whatever cost, master of the place. The fortress of Szigeth stood upon the river Almas, one of the tributaries of the Danube, and was surrounded by

a marsh, which formed a considerable impediment to the approach of an enemy. It was commanded by Count Nicholas Zriny, a man of indomitable valour, who, on account of the important position of his fortress, and his extraordinary defence of it against overwhelming numbers, with a small garrison of some two thousand three hundred men, has been justly and appropriately termed the Leonidas of Hungary. Assuredly the self-devotion of Zriny and his compatriots was not exceeded by that of the Spartans at Thermopylæ.

On the 5th of August 1566 the Sultan's army encamped within a mile of Szigeth, and the next day the siege began. A battery was erected, and two roads were constructed with incredible exertion by the besiegers, whose immense numbers enabled them to accomplish these works in a very short time. "There," says the historian Knolles, "might a man have seen all the fields full of camels, horses, and of the Turks themselves, like emmets, carrying wood, earth, stones, or one thing or another to fill up the marsh; so was there with wonderful labour two plain ways made through the deep fen from the town to the castle, where the Janizaries, defended from the great shot with sacks of wool, and such like things, did with the multitude of their small shot so overwhelm the defenders, that they could not against those places, without most manifest danger, show themselves upon the walls." By the 19th of the month both the old and the new town were in the hands of the besiegers, who, however, had not gained that advantage without an immense loss of life. The garrison, now diminished to a very small number, had retired to the citadel, and a black flag waved from its battlements intimating their purpose to fight to the last. The Ottoman army continued their assaults with unabated fury. The citadel itself was set on fire. The little garrison who had contested the place inch by inch was now reduced to sixty men; and it soon appeared to the Hungarian hero that the defence could be no longer protracted. On the 7th of September the attempt was abandoned. Zriny, firm and undaunted amid all the horrors of his situation,

and unshaken in his allegiance to Maximilian, although cruelly and ungratefully neglected by his royal master, who might have sent him succour, resolved at last to terminate the contest by issuing forth from the fortress and dying sword in hand. He retired for a little to his chamber, arrayed himself in a new suit of apparel, and laid aside his armour, retaining only his sword and shield. He then addressed his few remaining soldiers, who, with a resolution worthy of the followers of so great a hero, determined to imitate his example. The gate was thrown open, and while the besiegers stood still with amazement, the devoted band issued from the blazing fortress. It was their determination to receive no quarter, and attacking their enemies, who could scarcely believe that some deep-laid stratagem did not await them, they soon fell before the overpowering force opposed to them. Two only of the number remained alive, and recovered from their wounds to die in captivity far from the land which they loved so well, and defended with such dauntless heroism. The head of the Count Zriny was sent to Maximilian's camp, with a sarcastic letter from Mohammad Pasha, the commander of the Turkish force, who, admiring the extraordinary valour and endurance, could not help lamenting the death of his valiant adversary. The heroism of the defence of Szigeth may in some measure be appreciated, if it be remembered that the garrison was comparatively small, and that the Turkish army lost during the attack three generals, seven thousand Janizaries, twenty-eight thousand other soldiers, and a multitude of Turkish volunteers, who had, as before stated, joined the expedition.

While the siege of Szigeth was in progress, Sultan Solyman had been seized with a sudden illness, and had expired at Funfkirchen on the 4th of September 1566. Mohammad Pasha, however, fearing a tumult among the Janizaries, carefully concealed his death, while he sent to Selim intelligence of the event. Solyman the Magnificent was without question the greatest of all the Sultans who ever occupied the throne of Othoman; and under his lengthened and vigorous rule, the Turkish empire arrived at the zenith of its

power and splendour, but since his reign it has gradually declined. Thus in two centuries from the establishment of the Turkish power in Europe the inheritors of the throne of Othoman, the head of a small tribe in Asia Minor, had become possessors of the fairest regions of the globe, and the richest parts of that vast empire which, in the language of the ancient Romans, was called the world, and the acquirement of which the Roman conquerors considered the evidence of their superiority in valour and wisdom to all the nations of the earth. At the death of Solyman the empire of the Turks embraced the vast dominions bounded eastwards by the Tigris and the Euphrates, and towards the west and north by the Danube and the Volga, and contained, with the exception of Rome itself, all the cities most distinguished in the pages of history, Cairo, Jerusalem and Damascus, Athens and Sparta, Thebes and Constantinople.

CHAPTER XIV.

A.D. 1566-1574.

Solyman the Magnificent succeeded by Selim II.—Disturbances of the Janizaries—Character of the new Sultan—Operations in Asia—Peace between Selim and the Emperor Maximilian—Selim's projected canal between the Don and the Volga—The interruption of the work—First collision with Russia—Selim resolves to erect certain religious edifices—To endow them, resolves to go to war with Venice Siege of the cities of Cyprus—Their reduction—Sanguinary and perfidious conduct of the Pasha in Cyprus—Battle of Lepanto—Defeat of the Ottoman fleet—Effect of the victory in Constantinople—Conquests of Selim in other parts of Europe—The death of Selim II.

ON the death of Solyman, the Grand Vizier, who, during his last illness had conducted the siege of Szigeth, took especial care that the fatal occurrence should be concealed from the Janizaries, whose turbulence there was too much reason to fear. He resolved not to intimate the decease of the Sultan until Prince Selim should arrive from his government of Amasia.

The usual state was observed in the imperial household; and the horse-litter, covered with cloth of gold, conveyed the Emperor, suffering as was supposed from indisposition, in his usual manner of travelling. Mohammad led the Turkish army, after its severe sufferings, as if by the royal order, towards Constantinople. Selim met the army and the remains of his father on the plains of Belgrade; and the news of the Sultan's death was received by the soldiers, especially the Janizaries, with profound grief. Selim accompanied the remains of his father to the magnificent mosque which he had erected; and the obsequies were performed with extraordinary magnificence.

The new Sultan no sooner completed the funeral of his father, than he resolved to emulate the splendour of his predecessor. The equipments of the Janizaries had become faded amid the toils of war, and Selim had excluded them from their immediate duty of attending upon him, and had surrounded himself by troops of Bostangis, and the principal officers of the seraglio. The Janizaries, therefore, always inclined to mutiny, already dissatisfied at not receiving the donation usual on the accession of an emperor, resolved to regain their lost advantages. As soon, therefore, as the Sultan and his followers had left the palace, they assembled in force, and barricaded it against his return; nor could the sovereign re-enter the imperial residence without complying with their extravagant demands.

The disposition of the new Sultan differed widely from that of his predecessor. He was indolent and effeminate. He was, however, aware that if he loved repose, he must acquire it by employing his vast forces. But Selim was wholly unfit to lead or curb the multitude of fierce troops, who were with difficulty kept under control by the vigorous hands of his predecessors. He had, however, in Mohammad, the Grand Vizier of his father, a minister capable of supplying, in a great measure, his own defects, and exercising the supreme authority under him.

The Janizaries having returned to their duty and allegiance, the Vizier employed a portion of them to repress a rebellion among a powerful Arab tribe, who inhabited the deserts towards Baghdad. It appeared that the inroad was encouraged by Ismail, the son of Shah Thamas, who entertained an implacable hatred against the Ottomans. The rebellion was soon crushed; and the old Sofi, to appease the resentment of Selim, had his son apprehended, and put under confinement in a castle for several years.

This disposition to hostility on the part of the Persians, made the Turkish government anxious to conclude peace with the Emperor Maximilian, that it might direct thither its undivided forces. The house of Austria, profiting by the unexpected relief to its distressed provinces, arising from the

retreat of the Turkish army, had succeeded in making several conquests; and a treaty having been completed with the Waywode of Transylvania, that prince was confirmed in all his possessions and titles, and his province guaranteed to Austria upon his decease. By virtue of this agreement, Austria ultimately obtained possession of that important province. After a very considerable delay, a peace for eight years was concluded between Selim and Maximilian on the 17th February 1568, the chief articles of which were, that the two potentates should retain whatever possessions they had gained during the recent wars; that the Emperor Maximilian should pay to the Sultan thirty thousand ducats annually, as a tribute for Hungary; and that the Waywode of Transylvania should be included in the arrangement. The completion of these measures afforded Selim an opportunity of attending to other portions of his dominions than those which had for so long a period employed the resources of his immediate predecessors.

It will not be uninteresting to remark, that the first collision known to have taken place between Turkey and Russia occurred soon after the accession of Selim to the Ottoman throne. During the reign of his father, great difficulties had been experienced by the troops in passing over those immense tracts of country which lay between Persia and the Ottoman dominions, and which, from their nature and extent, formed the strongest bulwark of the former kingdom. It occurred to the Grand Vizier that a navigable canal might be cut, so as to form a communication between the Don and the Volga. These two vast rivers flow towards each other for many leagues through the Russian territories; and after approaching to within about thirty miles, the Volga turns to the east to supply the Caspian, and the Don flows westwards into the sea of Azof. It appeared to Selim and his advisers that at the nearest point between the two streams they might be united, so as to permit vessels to pass out of the Black Sea into the Caspian. This was a noble project, and if it had been accomplished, might have proved in those days not less important than the admirable undertaking which will soon signalize the vigour of modern enterprise—the formation of a canal to enable ships

to pass across the isthmus of Panama from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. This noble design had been spoken of ages before, and it is more than probable that the Vizier took the hint from its first projector. It was first suggested to Seleucus, surnamed Nicator, *i.e.*, the Victorious, who was one of the generals of Alexander the Great, a warrior celebrated among the Muslims, and to whom the Ottoman Sultans were always vain enough to compare themselves.

Selim having the command of the Sea of Azof, proceeded to put this design in execution. He sent up the Don a fleet conveying five thousand Janizaries and three thousand workmen; and an army of eighty thousand men was prepared to follow them, and aid as well as protect them in the execution of the work. The canal was intended to join the Volga at the city of Czaritzin, and a large part of the army was detached to take possession of Astrakan, situated on the principal branch of the Volga. But Astrakan was in the possession of a warlike people, fully capable of retaining their own property, or likely to deliver it up only after a most vigorous defence. The very name of the inhabitants of Astrakan was unknown to the Sultan. They were the Russians, a people destined to become remarkable in the pages of the future history of Europe.

Long before the race of Othoman had come into being, Vladimir, a prince whose dominions lay along the shores of the Baltic, had married the daughter of one of the emperors of Constantinople, and was, along with his people, converted to Christianity. The descendants of that prince were conquered in the thirteenth century by the Tartars, and in the fifteenth century Iwan Wassilowitch emancipated Russia from the Tartar yoke. Iwan II. had conquered the province of Astrakan, and Selim drew on himself the vengeance of his northern foe by his attack upon that portion of the Russian territory. Five thousand Russians unexpectedly fell upon the workmen engaged in forming the canal, which had already made considerable progress, and slaughtering them almost without resistance, put an end for ever to an enterprise, which, although undertaken for the unworthy purposes of war and national aggrandisement by increase of territory, might have proved

of infinite service in a commercial point of view, not merely to Turkey, but likewise to the dominions of the Russian monarchs.

One of the first objects also to which the Sultan directed his thoughts was the building of certain edifices at Hadrianople, as a public evidence of his piety. He resolved, therefore, to erect at that city a splendid sepulchral building for himself, together with a monastery, a college, and an almshouse. The new edifices, however, would require to be provided with a suitable endowment, and how to obtain it became a problem of difficult solution, inasmuch as, according to the Mohammadan laws, the Sultans were prohibited from endowing any charitable institutions with any lands or possessions other than those which they had won from "the infidels" with their own swords, and Selim had not signalised himself as a conqueror. There were not wanting, however, around the Sultan, those who were ready to suggest to him the means of accomplishing the object he had in view, and Selim resolved to make a descent upon Cyprus, and on taking it from the Venetians, to devote its revenues to the support of his new institutions at Hadrianople. As for the circumstance of the existing peace with the Republic of Venice, that he knew could be violated by means of a fetva of the Muftee. This project was strongly opposed by Mohammad, the Grand Vizier, but although he took care to represent to Selim the desire which the late Sultan had expressed as to the keeping of the league with Venice, and urged every argument which he could possibly devise, Selim resolved on the attempt. An ambassador was sent to Venice to negotiate if possible for the peaceable surrender of the island to the Sultan, but the result was altogether unsatisfactory.

The celebrated island of Cyprus lies to the south of the Syrian coast, and fully merits, by its admirable climate and extraordinary natural beauty, the praises lavished upon it both in ancient and modern times. The ancient poets chose it as the favourite abode of Cytherea, the goddess of beauty and of love, who, according to their fanciful mythology, arose from the sea near that beautiful island, and having been wafted to

the shore by the Zephyrs, was received on the land by the Seasons, the daughters of Jupiter and Themis. On the spot where she first trod the shores of Cyprus, arose the beautiful temple so often referred to by the classic poets, where a hundred altars continually exhaled frankincense in honour of the Paphian Queen. In ancient days thirty cities adorned the surface of this lovely isle, but in 1570, when Selim II. formed his design to invade it, many of them were to be distinguished only by their ruins; yet a large population inhabited it, with several cities, and many hundreds of villages. Nicosia and Famagousta, the chief modern cities, represented the ancient Ledra and Arsinoï, the former occupying the centre of the island, and the latter the shore opposite the Syrian coast.

Early in 1570 the Sultan having completed his preparations, began the measures requisite to the accomplishment of his design. In February he despatched towards Italy a large army to attack the Venetian territories, and so to distract the attention of the Republic from his proceedings in the Levant. In the following April he sent a fleet under the command of Pial Pasha, the successor of Barbarossa, to prevent the Venetians from sending aid to Cyprus. And meantime the Sultan sent an army by land into Pamphylia, and Mustafa Pasha sailed from Constantinople direct to the scene of operations.

The Turkish forces speedily invested Nicosia, the ancient capital of the kings of Cyprus, and once the residence of the celebrated Cœur de Lion and the fair Berengaria. In order to carry on with sufficient vigour the affairs of the siege, they erected, as is usual in such cases, artificial mounds, in which, with complete command of the fortifications, were seventy great pieces of ordnance. After the most gallant defence that the citizens and soldiers within the walls were able to make, it at last appeared that to hold out much longer was impossible. The walls were in many places demolished, and thousands of the inhabitants were already slain. Mustafa shot letters into the city, containing assurances that if the place were surrendered, the defenders of it should receive honourable treatment, and threatening the utmost sufferings in case of their protracting the defence. These solicitations, however,

were to no purpose, the brave defenders of the city being unable to place confidence in the promises made to them. At length the Turkish troops forced their way into the devoted fortress, and the most appaling slaughter took place. The whole of the defenders, although they had laid down their arms, were put to the sword, and their helpless families were subjected to the cruelest indignities. The whole city was filled with the slain, fourteen thousand having been slaughtered during the siege, and at the termination of it, an immense booty fell into the hands of the Sultan's soldiers.

All the other places of strength immediately surrendered to Mustafa, with the exception of Famagousta, a fortified city on the coast, as already stated. It was now late in September; and as there arose a report that a large fleet from Venice was at hand, the Pasha considered it desirable to raise the siege of the city, and retire with his forces into the interior, while he sent the fleet to engage that which was approaching. The Venetian fleet, however, from some disagreement among the commanders of it, instead of pressing forward to the relief of Cyprus, sailed back again, leaving the island to its fate. Mustafa, with his army, remained to winter in Cyprus; and the Turkish fleet, with the exception of a few ships, sailed for Rhodes and Constantinople.

The utmost efforts were made during the winter to obtain aid for the Cypriots, and especially to succour Famagousta, but in vain. The Venetians, moreover, found it necessary to defend their possessions themselves; for, on applying to Maximilian of Germany, Charles of France, and Sigismund of Poland, these monarchs excused themselves from interfering, by pleading the existence of treaties with the Sultan, which they were not at liberty to violate. The siege was at last resumed. Bragadino, the governor of the city, did everything that military skill and courage could effect with a small force; but after the besieged had endured the greatest distress, it was found impossible to hold out, and the citizens induced their governor to make terms with the besiegers. The articles of capitulation secured the lives, goods, and liberty of all the inhabitants, and also of the governor and the officers

in command, and was solemnly ratified by Mustafa; but, with a degree of perfidy which, in the reign of Solyman, would have cost him his head, the Pasha treated the brave defender of the place with every conceivable indignity, and, after torturing him, caused him to be flayed alive. This fatal siege, accompanied by circumstances too horrible to relate, completed the capture of Cyprus, which became a portion of the Turkish empire.

The renewed hostilities of the Sultan rendered it absolutely requisite to the safety of those maritime states of the Mediterranean, who were exposed to the consequent danger, to adopt measures for self-defence. Accordingly, soon after the fall of Cyprus, a treaty was concluded between the Pope, Philip II. of Spain, and the Venetian Republic, for their mutual safety. This treaty proved, in a considerable degree, a check to the naval enterprises of the Mohammadans, in consequence of a remarkable victory gained by the allied fleet over that of their common adversary, at the scene of the famous naval conflict between the ships of Augustus and Mark Antony.

The Turkish fleet having entered the gulf of Lepanto, they were there attacked by the ships of the confederates, who were exasperated by the scandal which their inactivity and the consequent loss of Cyprus brought upon Christendom. As if, however, to reward them for past miseries, the whole Turkish fleet lay open to their attacks, and Don John of Austria, brother of Philip II., king of Spain, prepared to seize the propitious opportunity. The Turkish fleet consisted of two hundred galleys, and sixty-six frigates or brigantines. Ali, the capitan, had arranged them in three divisions; himself, with Pertau, a celebrated corsair, occupied the centre; the squadron of the right was commanded by Siroc, and the left division by the King of Algiers. The line of the Christian fleet consisted of nearly the same number of vessels, drawn up in a similar manner. Don John took the centre; Doria led the right division; a noble Venetian commanded the left. Don John, surrounded by the flower of Italy,* of

* Among the combatants at Lepanto was the celebrated Cervantes, who lost an arm in the action by a shot of an arquebuss.

Spain, and by the Knights of Malta, led the attack. The combat began with great fury, by shouts and acclamations on both sides, at seven in the morning. The first blow was inflicted by Barbarigo the Venetian, by sinking the galley of Siroc. The death of their leader dismayed the surrounding Turkish vessels; and the Spaniards incited to outdo the Venetian exploit, commenced a terrible fire on the Capitan Pasha. Ali was now slain, and the Spaniards becoming aware of it, attacked the admiral's vessel with loud shouts, boarded her instantly, and massacred the Turkish crew, pulling down the crescent, and elevating instead the standard of the cross. A universal exclamation of victory at this sight burst from the Christian fleet; and the Turks, struck with terror, suffered themselves to be massacred almost without resistance. The galleys of the king of Algiers alone escaped from the general destruction. They were opposed to Doria, who, instead of attacking them, sailed away with his division. Occhiali, however, pursued him, and about to engage the vessels of the left wing, when the cries of victory and the closing in of the centre on his division, warned him of his danger; and followed by his thirty galleys, he gained unhurt the open sea. His division was the sole relic of the Turkish navy; and never had they received a more signal defeat. The Christians took one hundred and sixty one galleys and twelve frigates, and were occupied a fortnight in dividing the spoil; for which they were often on the point of turning their arms against each other.

The description of the admiral's ship taken in this celebrated sea-fight is not unworthy of attention. "She was," says an excellent authority, "so goodlie and beautiful a vessell, that for beautie and richnesse scarce any in the whole ocean was comparable unto her. The deck of this galley was on both sides thrice as great as any of the others, and made all of black wallnut-tree, like unto ebonie, checquered, and wrought marvellous fair with divers lovely colours and variety of histories. There was also in her divers lively counterfeits, engraven and wrought with golde with so cunning a hand, that for the magnificence thereof it might well have been

compared unto some prince's palace. The cabbin glistered in every place with riche hangings wrought with golde twist, and set with divers sort of precious stones with certain small counterfeits most cunningly wrought. Besides this, there was also found in her great store of the Bassae's rich apparel, wrought with ye needle, so curiously and richly embossed with silver and gold, that his great lord and master Selymus himselfe could hardly put on more royal or rich attire."

This famous victory filled Constantinople with alarm, an Selim expected nothing less than that the victorious fle would attack the imperial city. But the Venetians did improve the manifest advantage which they had gain Selim, however, lost no time in preparing for the wo Fifteen thousand men were immediately sent to strengt the fortifications on the Dardanelles, and other parts of coast likely to impede the approach of the expected enem Amid these preparations, the fleet of Occhiali, which h escaped from the battle of Lepanto, sailed into Constantinop and the energetic commander lost no time in repairing t disaster. An immense number of workmen were brought the city, the forests on the Black Sea yielded their timbe the treasures of the Sultan and the 'Ulama were contribute and by the united power of numbers a fleet of two hundr galleys was ready for sea in the incredibly short space of s months.

The Sultan, sensible of the immense value of the servic which Occhiali thus rendered, conferred upon him the highe rank, and rewarded him munificently, giving him the title Kilig or "the Sword." Kilig as soon as possible put to s with the whole fleet, being eager to intimate to his opponen that the blow which the Sultan's naval power had sustain had been completely recovered. Fully aware, however, the superiority of his enemy, and having his ships for t most part manned by crews not possessed of sufficient exp rience, he had no great desire to come in collision with force from which the navy of his master had already suffer so greatly, and he must have heard without any great regr that peace was concluded with the Republic of Venice. B

this treaty, which took place in 1574, the Venetians, after having been deprived of Cyprus and some portion of their Dalmatian territories, brought to a close their long and disastrous struggle with Turkey.

The army of Sultan Selim now found unexpected employment in another part of his dominions. The Sultan had appointed John or Iwan Waywode of Moldavia. This person had been originally a Christian, but had embraced the Muslim faith, and after he had held the place of Waywode for some years, repenting of his desertion of Christianity, he again returned to the faith which he had first professed. The consequence of this change was the enmity of the Sultan, who resolved to extrude him from the province. A large force was accordingly sent against him, and although Iwan held out bravely for some time, he was at last, after frequently defeating the army of the Sultan, induced to capitulate, but was treacherously put to death in direct violation of the engagement made with him. The whole of Wallachia thus fell into the possession of Selim.

These successes were followed up by several victories on the African coast, under the able conduct of Occhiali or Kilig, who drove the Spaniards out of Tunis, which he acquired as part of the Ottoman dominions, together with the supremacy over the kingdoms of Algiers and Tripoli. But Selim did not live to make further progress. A disastrous fire which occurred in the seraglio filled him with superstitious fears; he sunk into a state of melancholy, which was aggravated by his intemperate and otherwise immoral habits, and a fever supervened, which cut him off. He died in 1574, after a reign of eight years, and was succeeded by his eldest son Amurath III.

CHAPTER XV.

A. D. 1574–1604.

Amurath III.—His accession—Murder of his five brothers—King of Poland elected at his desire — War with Persia, its results — English ambassador—Sultan's letter to Queen Elizabeth—War in Hungary, &c.—Death of the Sultan—Accession of Mohammad III. —The Sultan takes the field—Defeat of the allied army, &c.—Revolt in Asia—Treatment of the rebels—Dissatisfaction at Constantinople—Death of Sultan Mohammad III.

AMURATH III. commenced his reign in 1574, and signalized his accession to power by the murder of his five brothers. The princes were brought into the Sultan's presence and put to death, their mothers at the same time being forced to witness the last agonies of their unhappy children, so that they might never in future entertain doubt as to their having been destroyed. This atrocious act, so often committed by the Turkish monarchs on their accession to power, was always attempted to be palliated by reasons of state; but it is difficult to understand how, even with the imperfect morals of the Kur-án, it was found possible for the Sultan and his ministers to justify the condemnation of persons wholly innocent of any crime. On this occasion the cruel deed was accompanied by the death of one of the miserable mothers of the murdered princes, who, frantic at the horrible sight, drew forth a poniard, and having stabbed herself to the heart, expired on the body of her son.

On his accession Amurath exhibited great liberality towards the poor, and exerted himself to improve the laws of the country. He resolved that he should not neglect the

example which his predecessors left him, and although of a peaceable disposition, the year after he attained the throne beheld him sending his forces into Russia, part of which they laid waste with fire and sword, destroying numerous towns and villages as well as fortresses, and carrying away multitudes of captives. On returning however with the spoil, the Cossacks assembled in force, and attacking them with great fury, liberated many of the prisoners, and severely punished the unprovoked aggression.

At this period the people of Poland were in considerable difficulty as to the election of a king. Henry of Valois who had been elected, had succeeded to the kingdom of France, and had retired from the sovereignty of the Polish states. After his retirement the Poles were divided into two parties, one in favour of the Emperor Maximilian, and the other for the Duke of Muscovy. Amurath, however, was very unwilling that either of those two powerful princes should occupy the throne of Poland. He therefore sent letters to the electors, in which he declared his hatred of the two royal candidates, and threatened them with the full weight of his anger, in the event of their persisting in their purpose of chôosing either of them. Amurath sent this letter by an ambassador, who was charged to effect if possible certain important measures as to the settlement of the question. The Poles had the wisdom not to provoke their potent neighbour, and chose the Princess Anne as their Queen, on condition of her marrying the Waywode of Transylvania, as recommended by the Ottoman ambassador. This condition was fulfilled greatly to the advantage of all parties concerned.

The hostility which had so long subsisted between the empires of Turkey and Persia now induced the Sultan to take advantage of the civil troubles of the East; and to this he was, consistently with the superstition for which he was remarkable, encouraged by an Imâm, who declared he saw written in characters of flame over the entrance of the divan, "Amurath, conqueror of Persia." Shah Thamas died, declaring Mohammad, his eldest son, his heir; but, as the prince did not accept the dignity, the Persians liberated Is-

mail, who had been imprisoned, and raised him to the throne. Ismail had become exasperated by a tedious confinement, and he began his reign by the death of his eight brothers, and by perpetrating other acts of cruelty, which sent several Khans from his court to the Turks. Shah Ismail was, moreover, incensed against the Ottomans, and prepared for war. The Grand Vizier would willingly have kept at peace with so potent an adversary; but the Sultan was absolute, and entrusted Mustafa, the conqueror of Cyprus, with the conduct of the war.

No decided advantages were gained by the Turks in this war. Although the Persian troops were light and undisciplined, and the enemy had regular and well drilled columns, the natural advantages of their native soil enabled the Persians to regain those possessions they had lost for a time. An event occurred during the campaign which increased the hostility of the belligerents. The Khan of Crim Tartary, a commander in the Turkish army, was made prisoner, and sent to the ordinary residence of the Persian monarch, who would gladly have attached his Tartar captive to his cause; but the Khan's imprudence rendered this impossible, and having mortally offended the Shah, he was put to death. Persian ambassadors were sent to Constantinople to seek a peace; which Amurath, enraged at the murder of his vassal, refused, and the two monarchs continued to ravage each other's territories, in consequence of the merited punishment of the criminal. The Persian war was far from successful. A large number of men were destroyed by the enemy. Famine and pestilence also swept away multitudes; and the campaign closed with the loss to the Turks of seventy thousand soldiers. The misfortunes of the campaign were not unjustly attributed to Mustafa's imprudence; and the Sultan reduced him to a private station, and deprived him of all honours and wealth. He would have been put to death had his enemy Mohammad, the Grand Vizier, been alive. Sinan Pasha was appointed to the vacant command. The war, however, continued unsuccessful. The troops were defeated in Georgia, and every effort was frustrated; and Sinan, having impru-

dently hinted that the chief cause of these misfortunes was the Sultan's absence from his army, offended Amurath, and was disgraced and banished. Shasis Pasha was promoted to the vacant post, and Ferhad, a man of great courage and experience, appointed commander-in-chief. The history of Ferhad's rise into notice is highly romantic, and recalls the memory of the great Khalif Haroun Er Rasheed. When walking incognito in the streets of his capital, Amurath met a man who was loudly anathematizing the Grand Vizier's lieutenant, whose office it was to provision the city. The Sultan was interested, and encouraged the Ferhad to set forth his grievances. "You are not able to lessen my evils," said the angry citizen to the Sultan, "or to prevent my having to-day fifty bastinadoes on the soles of my feet, which I have certainly not merited. I am the cook of an orta of the Janizaries, and came here this morning to buy what is necessary for my division; but though thus early, everything almost is gone, and what remains is too dear. The rascally Kiaia (*i.e.*, the lieutenant of the Grand Vizier) puts on such an impost, that not half the provisions are brought for sale; a scarcity arises; the rich increase their wealth, while we starve and are bastinadoed." Constantinople was actually ill supplied, as the Sultan soon discovered. Ferhad was brought before the Sultan; and, when he saw on the throne the man who so kindly listened to him a short time before, he was lost in amazement. The abuses, however, were put a stop to, the Kiaia dismissed, and Ferhad, having received an appointment in the seraglio, soon rose by his ability to a high station in the empire.

Ferhad conducted the Persian war with vigour, but met with no greater success than his predecessors, and was superseded by Osman Pasha. Osman was a man of undoubted courage and activity. He had recaptured Tauris, traversed the Caucasus by defiles which previously no invader had ever passed through, and, having descended the Don in boats, surprised and put to death the Tartar Khan who had rebelled against the Sultan, and raised his brother to the sovereignty as a vassal of Turkey. Amurath, rejoicing in his

promptitude, received him on his return with great honour in a pavilion on the Bosphorus, and, having extolled his valour and activity, the Sultan with his own hands placed on the Osman's turban his diamond aigrette, and girded to his side a diamond hilted ataghan, and on quitting his presence, Osman found in the first court of the palace, as a gift from his royal master, a charger richly caparisoned having stirrups of gold, and on each side of the saddle a scimitar and candjhar attached, which were mounted with precious stones. Thus equipped he was escorted to his palace by the state-guards, who proclaimed him, like Mordecai, the man whom the king delighted to honour.

It is wholly impossible within any reasonable space, to supply a detailed account of the Persian campaign. Soon after Osman's investiture with supreme command the operations were resumed.

On the part of the Persians, the war was conducted by Hamzah, a native prince, with great success; and notwithstanding the magnitude of the Sultan's army, the Persians, although they could not prevent their progress and occupation of Tauris, subjected them to severe losses and great embarrassment. Hamzah, enraged at the massacre of the Persian citizens at Tauris, repeatedly attacked the Turkish troops; and although his army was numerically much inferior to that of his adversaries, he defeated the Ottoman forces in several battles. The disasters thus sustained were of the most serious kind. Besides the loss of baggage and artillery, the Turkish army lost in one battle alone more than twenty thousand men.

Most of these disastrous events were occasioned by the illness of Osman, the Ottoman commander, whose consummate skill would, had he been able to superintend the army and its movements in person, have probably led to success; but he was, during many of the most trying periods of the campaign, confined to his tent and incapable of action. At length he died, worn out with vexation as well as toil.

Osman was succeeded in the command by Sinan Pasha, but Hamzah, who attacked the Sultan's army at Salmas, near

the lake of Urumiyah, fell while leading on his men; and this event released the Turks from an indefatigable enemy, whose career, although short, was extremely brilliant, and whose loss was so serious an event to the Persians, that they retreated from their invaders, and thus opened the way to them to Van. Thither Sinan immediately marched, but under the severest privations. The provender for the army entirely failed, and they were under the necessity of feeding their camels with pieces of wood beaten into powder. So great, indeed, was the mortality even among the men on this occasion, that when, on arriving at Van, Sinan reviewed his troops, he found that the loss, partly in battle, and partly by fatigue and want, amounted to eighty-five thousand men. He then thought proper to disband part of his force after having sent succours to Tefflis; and the Ottoman troops being thus weakened, the Persian army besieged the city of Tauris again in 1586.

Sinan had been chosen by the army as their leader in consequence of the recommendation contained in the last will of their late commander Osman; but the appointment was not confirmed by the Sultan, who thought the new general too young for so important a command, and Ferhad was again appointed. Having marched from Europe with a strong reinforcement, he defeated the Persians and relieved Tauris, constructed a chain of forts to Erivan, and with great skill kept his army together for two years, fighting during summer, and retiring into their forts in winter. The Shah, exhausted by such efforts, and losing heart by the loss of Erivan, Kars, and the Karabagh, began to think of peace. Amurath at length consented, although not without reluctance, to pacific measures; the conditions, however, were favourable to the Ottomans, the Persians having solemnly ceded the three conquered provinces to the Turkish empire; and thus, in 1587, terminated the long and sanguinary war with Persia. But the prolonged contest had exhausted the treasury, and the Sultan was under the necessity of having recourse to arbitrary means as a remedy. Heavy taxes were imposed upon the tributary princes of Moldavia, Wal-

lachia, and Transylvania—the value of the coinage was altered, and a firman issued declaring that the Sultans were the heirs of all the Pashas and public officers, and thus excluding their children and relatives. Accordingly, the personal treasury was replenished with the spoils taken from ministers and generals, and the immense wealth of Mustafa, Sinan, and Ferhad, served to fill the private coffers of Amurath.

The pay of the Janizaries, however, had been long in arrear, and, as a natural consequence, the troops having returned at the conclusion of the Persian war, broke out into rebellion. Temporary tranquillity was restored by the death of the Defterdar (who only fulfilled his master's orders), and the re-appointment of Sinan to the Vizeriat, who had been thrice reduced to poverty, and thrice raised to distinction and wealth. Great damage was at this period done in Constantinople by incendiary fires, which the Janizaries refused to aid in extinguishing, and even prevented the citizens from doing so. In a very short time, seven mosques, twenty-five great inns, and fifteen thousand houses, were laid in ashes, and the atrocious expedient of incendiarism, which now occurred for the first time, became in future the signal of revolt on the part of the fierce and turbulent soldiery.

It was in the reign of Sultan Amurath III., that the court of England first sent an ambassador to the Sublime Porte. The trade which England had hitherto carried on with the Levant had been extremely precarious, and although protected in some measure by the flags of the Venetian Republic and the King of France, Queen Elizabeth was desirous of having some direct influence in the Sultan's court. The claims of the English nation were opposed by the Venetians and the French, but the Sultan wisely arranged that it would be unfair to restrict the advantage of a free commercial intercourse to other nations, to the exclusion of the merchants of England.

In 1589, the preparations which were made by Philip, king of Spain, against that country, were well known to Amurath, as well as the destruction of the armada in the succeeding year; and Queen Elizabeth having resolved to

interfere with the trade between Spain and the West Indies, as well as to replace Don Antonio of Portugal, whom Philip had driven from his kingdom, had made application to the Sultan to send his fleet to aid her against the Spaniards. It will not be uninteresting to peruse the Sultan's reply, which is as follows :—

"Most Honourable Matron of the Christian Religion, Mirror of Chastity, adorned with the Brightness of Sovereignty and Power amongst the most chast Women of the People which serve Jesu, Mistress of great Kingdoms, reputed of greatest Majesty and Praise among the Nazarites, Elizabeth Queen of England, to whom we wish a most happy and prosperous Reign. You shall understand by our high and Imperial Letters directed unto you, how that your Orator, resiant in our stately and magnificent Court, hath presented unto the Throne of our Majesty a certain writing, wherein he hath certified us, how that about four years ago you have made war upon the King of Spain for the abating and breaking of his Forces, wherewith he threatneth all other Christian Princes, and purposeth to make himself the sole Monarch both of them and all the World beside. As also, how that the same King of Spain hath by force taken from Don Anthonio (lawfully created King of Portugal) his Kingdom; and that your Intention is, that his Ships which go and come into the Indies may from henceforth be embarred and stayed from that Navigation; wherein are yearly brought into Spain, precious Stones, Spices, Gold and Silver, esteemed worth many millions, wherewith the aforesaid King, as with a great Treasure enriched, hath means to molest and trouble all other Christian Princes; which if he shall still proceed to do, he will make himself daily stronger and stronger, and such an one as may not easily be weakned. After that, your aforesaid Orator requested our Highness, in the beginning of the next Spring, to send out our Imperial Fleet against him, being assured that the King of Spain could not be able easily to withstand it, for that he had now already received a great overthrow by your Fleet; and being scarce able to withstand you alone, if he should be on divers parts

invaded, must needs be overcome, to the great benefit of all the Christian Princes, as also of our Imperial State. Besides this, that whereas the aforesaid Don Anthonio is by force driven out and deprived of his Kingdom, that we (to the imitation of our noble Progenitors of happy Memory, whose Graves the Almighty lighten) should also give the Aid and Succour of our magnificent State, as did they unto all such as had recourse unto their high Courts and Pallaces for relief. In brief, all these things, with many others which your aforesaid Orator hath at large declared unto our Imperial Throne, we have well understood, and laid them up in our deep remembrance. But forasmuch as we have for many years past made Wars in Persia, with a full Resolution and intent utterly to conquer and subdue the Kingdom of that accursed Persian Heretick, and to joyn the same unto our antient Dominions; and now by the Grace of God, and help of our great Prophet, are now upon the point for the satisfying of our desire; that once done, due Provision shall be assigned unto all such things as you have of us requested or desired. Wherefore, if you shall sincerely and purely continue the bond of Amity and Friendship with our high Court, you shall find no more secure Refuge or safer Harbour of good Will or Love. So at length all things shall go well and according to your Heart's desire in your Wars with Spain, under the shadow of our happy Throne. And forasmuch as the King of Spain hath by Fraud and Deceit got whatsoever he holdeth, without doubt these deceitful Deceivers shall by the Power of God in short time be dispatched and taken out of the way. In the mean time we exhort you not to lose any Opportunity or Time, but to be always vigilant, and according to the Conventions betwixt us, favourable unto our Friends, and unto our Enemies a Foe. And give notice here to our high Court, of all the new Wars which you shall understand of concerning the said King of Spain, for the behoof both of your self and us. To be brief, your Ambassador, after he had with all care and diligence dispatched his Ambassage, and here left in his place one Edward Bardon his Deputy and Agent, now by our leave maketh his return towards your

Kingdom, being for the good and faithful service he here did, worthy to be of you esteemed, honoured, and before others promoted; who when he hath obtained of you all those his deserved Honours and Preferments, let him or some other principal Ambassador without delay be appointed to our Imperial Court, to continue this Office of Legation. This we thought good to have you certified of under our most honourable Seal, whereunto you may give undoubted credence.—From our Imperial Palace at Constantinople, the 15th of this blessed Month Ramazan, 1589."

It is, notwithstanding this friendly answer to Elizabeth's request, highly probable that the Sultan did not intend to take any part in the struggle referred to, but rather felt some degree of satisfaction in the hostility subsisting between the two powerful states of Spain and England, as tending to leave him with greater freedom to prosecute his designs upon the dominions of Rodolph.

The conclusion of the strife with Persia was followed by war in Hungary. The Emperor Rodolph, son and successor of Maximilian, had long been preparing for a contest with his hereditary foe the Sultan, and a great loss of life, and innumerable scenes of desolation, were the issue of his proceedings. Sinan Pasha, foreseeing the approaching danger, provided for it with his wonted energy. Having appealed to the fanaticism of the Janizaries, he sought to turn aside their rebellious tendencies by a display of the standard of Mohammad, and an appeal to their fanaticism; and one thousand Janizaries were employed to bring to Constantinople the sacred ensign. War was declared by the Grand Vizier against Hungary, and as the Sanjack Sherif—the palladium of Turkey—was displayed amid the sound of martial instruments, the murmurs of the Janizaries were transformed into cries of wild enthusiasm, and they entreated once more to be led to battle against the infidel.

Sinan's success in Hungary was brilliant in the extreme. He attacked with rigour several important fortresses, which he speedily carried; and having invested the city of Raab, fifty miles from Vienna, which contained a garrison of

five thousand men, he attacked the Archduke who lay encamped at Schut, and compelled him to take refuge in the confines of Croatia. Raab fell into the hands of Sinan after a siege of eighteen days, and all the efforts of the imperialists could not now protect the country from the Turkish legions by whom it was laid waste to Minersdorff, and after a signal triumph in Austria, the Grand Vizier led his troops into winter quarters.

In the following year, Sigismund, Prince of Transylvania, who had revolted from the vassalage of the Sultan, concluded a treaty with his neighbours of Moldavia and Wallachia, and with the Emperor Rodolph, against the Ottoman Empire. The Turkish general Sinan, foreseeing the consequences of this confederacy, urged the Sultan to take vigorous measures, entreating that if he could not appear among his troops in person, he would at least send his son Mohammad as his representative in the camp. Amurath was alarmed, for he distrusted his son, and he accordingly declared he would personally conduct the troops in the following spring. His exploits, however, were circumscribed within the confines of Hadrianople; and, weakened by superstition, he beheld in a violent storm which occurred, an augury of his approaching fate. Oppressed by his fears, and suffering from disease, he retired within the walls of his seraglio, incapable of exertion.

Amurath, afflicted with some of the most dreadful maladies to which human nature is liable (the disease of epilepsy and the stone), and oppressed with those puerile fears to which his superstitions gave birth, now spent his time in incessant suffering, both physical and mental. One day, as he was contemplating from the kiosk of his General Sinan, the view of the Bosphorus, and his band was executing a melancholy air which he had himself composed, two vessels entered the port from Alexandria, and fired a salute as they passed.

The report of the cannon broke some of the windows of the kiosk, and fragments of the glass were scattered over the sofa on which he was reclining. The words of that part of the air which the musicians were performing at the moment

were these:—"O death, this night will be thy triumph!" Amurath instantly declared that his fears were realised, and, in the omen of the shattered glass, beheld his approaching death. The incident seized upon his disordered imagination; he retired into the interior of his palace, and, on the 18th January 1495, death, within four days, relieved him from the cares and turmoil of an unhappy reign. He was succeeded by his son Mohammad, a man possessed, not only of the fierce and turbulent temper, but the courage and ambition which so frequently had distinguished his predecessors in the throne. These qualities had been a source of no small uneasiness to his father Amurath, and he had obliged Mohammad to retire to Magnesia; he would probably have put him to death, if the Sultana had not advised her son to conceal his real character under a feigned delight in frivolity and pleasure. He therefore became from policy a voluptuary; but the dangerous trial proved destructive of all that was promising in his character. The first twenty-four hours of his reign beheld the murder of his nineteen brothers; and the merciless barbarian, moreover, caused all the females of the seraglio, from whom there was reason to expect imperial heirs, to be put to death by drowning.

The growing importance of the house of Austria caused the Hungarian war to assume a character very different from that by which it was formerly distinguished, for the Emperor, instead of watching with terror the Sultan's movements, was now powerful enough to give the signal of attack. The imperial army amounted to eighty thousand men; and Count Mansfeldt, a warrior of skill and experience, threatened to recover the places conquered in Hungary. Gran was at last invested by the imperialists, and the Pasha of Buda advanced to its relief with twenty thousand men; but the Hungarian cavalry attacking the Turkish forces, they almost immediately gave way, and were defeated, with the loss of fourteen thousand men and twenty-seven standards. After the battle Count Mansfeldt resumed the siege of the city. The defence was an obstinate one. The brave Mansfeldt died of disease, just as he was informed that the fortress was taken. But so

desperate were its defenders, that they fired the magazines, and the place was reduced almost to ruins. An honourable capitulation, however, was granted to the garrison. The fall of Gran led to the immediate surrender of Vicegrade, Fagiat, and Leppa.

The Sultan was beyond measure enraged at the losses thus sustained, and which he supposed must have been occasioned by the unskilfulness of Ferhad Pasha. He accordingly sent for that general, whom he superseded by the appointment of the veteran warrior Sinan, and then put to death by strangulation.

Sinan, however, who assumed the command, was by no means more successful than his predecessor; and, in a great battle with the Transylvanians, lost all his artillery and baggage, including the green standard of the Prophet, while he himself, in his flight, narrowly escaped being drowned in a ditch.

A Turkish army of twenty thousand men, led by the Pasha of Bosnia, now entered Croatia. The Imperialists, however, led by Eckenberg and Leucowitz, were again victorious, the Turkish forces were defeated, and the capture of Petrina soon followed; and to render their disasters complete, part of Transylvania threw off the Ottoman yoke, and under their prince marched against Sinan Pasha, who had crossed the Danube near Tergowitz in Wallachia. The Turkish forces sustained repeated defeats, till the name of the Prince of Transylvania inspired them with terror, and he no sooner appeared than they abandoned their tents and baggage, and retired in great confusion. The Transylvanian, taking advantage of the alarm of his adversaries, pushed on to Bucharest, which instantly surrendered to him, the Turks retreating in consternation as he advanced; at length the cavalry overtook the fugitives on the banks of the Danube, of whom sixteen thousand were slain, and five thousand captives were restored to liberty.

These remarkable successes, however, were rendered to a considerable extent nugatory, by the circumstance that the Poles, jealous of the successes of the Transylvanians, entered Moldavia under Zamolski, the chamberlain, drove out the

Waywode, the ally of Transylvania, and concluded a treaty permitting a passage through the Krapjak defiles to the vanquished Ottomans. Thus, by one of those remarkable events which seem more frequent in the history of Turkey than in that of any other great monarchy, the Sultan's empire, although in a condition of great peril, did not suffer any permanent calamity, although, as may be supposed, Mohammad III. was greatly mortified by such reverses. His embarrassments, moreover, were increased by the decease of the aged veteran Sinan, whose death was understood to have been hastened by the mortification he felt at the ill success of his recent campaigns. All the treasures of this eminent leader fell into the hands of his royal master. Sinan, at his death, recommended Cicala as his successor; but the Sultan paid no attention to the suggestion, although it was unquestionably one which exhibited great penetration; but, guided by his mother's advice, gave the vacancy to Ibrahim.

Mohammad, who had hitherto devoted himself to pleasure, was now awakened from his lethargy by the loud murmurs and discontent of his subjects, and resolving to bestir himself, announced his resolution of leading his troops in person. This declaration alone was sufficient to restore energy to his army. The camp was close to the walls of Constantinople, and spread over a great plain, and the Sultan went forth in procession to join his troops, accompanied by his Pashas and other officers, and the French and English ambassadors. The procession was of the most imposing character, and the martial music and glittering bands of soldiers who formed the cavalcade, rendered the occasion one of great rejoicing. The campaign had commenced, and the confederates were desirous of following up their successes. The Waywode of Transylvania was repulsed from the walls of Temeswaer; and Count Palfy pressed the siege of Sambuk, a fortress of considerable importance between Wiessemburg and Buda. The town of Hatevan, on the right of the road leading from Buda to Agria, where there is a strong castle, was suddenly invested by the Archduke Maximilian with sixty thousand men. The garrison demanded the same terms as those allowed to Gran, but

were ordered to surrender at discretion, which they refused. The place was therefore assaulted with redoubled fury, and carried by storm, when the most atrocious cruelties, wholly unworthy of the army of Maximilian, were committed—men, women, and children being indiscriminately put to the sword. Such was the state of affairs when Mohammad reached Buda at the head of two hundred thousand men. The Archduke, too, thought proper to withdraw from Hatevan, which he did, after burning the place to the ground. The Turks created great consternation, which spread to Vienna, and the emperor hastened to strengthen the garrison and repair the fortifications; while the Christian army waited with anxiety to ascertain in which quarter the onset would commence.

It was soon found that Agria was the first object of the Sultan's attack, which its great importance rendered highly worthy of that monarch's attention. The garrison, which consisted of the bravest of the Archduke's army, expecting relief, defended the fortress with the utmost obstinacy. The Turks, also, whose energies became their best days, fought in the presence and under the eye of the Sultan with their usual determination. The citadel was speedily reduced to ruins; and although the expected relief was near, the garrison, contrary to the commands of their generals, who justly feared they should meet the fate of the defenders of Hatevan, surrendered on conditions. The number of men that came from Agria only amounted to two thousand, and they were scarcely out of the fortress when they were attacked by the Janizaries and Tartars, who cut them to pieces in revenge for the massacre at Hatevan. The Archduke having formed a junction with Sigismund, Palfy, and the Hungarian bands, arrived to relieve Agria, but only after it had fallen. Being too late for his purpose, he offered battle to the Ottomans. The two armies were drawn up on each side of a small river—the passage was guarded by Giaffar Pasha at the head of twenty thousand Janizaries and Tartars. Ten thousand cavalry and infantry crossed the stream to attack the imperialists, and advanced without sufficient caution, when the Archduke led the charge, and before they had time to form, threw them

everywhere into confusion, and drove them across the river. The panic into which they were thrown by the pursuit was communicated to the whole army, which was advancing to their support. Elated by their first success, the imperialists rushed toward the Ottoman camp, impatient to seize the immense booty which was now exposed to their grasp, utterly disregarding the commands of their officers. A regiment of cuirassiers cut their way to the Sultan's tent, where the military chest was deposited, but it was bravely defended by the Bostangis; and this defence gave time sufficient to change the whole aspect of affairs. While they were in disorder, Cicala Pasha, who had covered the retreat with forty thousand men, perceiving the disorder of the imperialists, instantly took advantage of it. He rushed upon their scattered bands with his columns, and almost in an instant overpowered the confederate army, the soldiers of which were encumbered with booty. A most signal defeat followed; and those foot soldiers who were not slain by their enemies' sword, were trampled upon by their own cavalry as they sought their safety by flight. In the battle of Karesta, as the place of this disaster is called, and the siege of Agria, the allied army lost twenty thousand men, and the Turkish force no less than sixty thousand.

In the confusion of the Archduke's attack, Sultan Mohammad had fled, with his guard, into Agria, and ordered the drawbridge to be lifted. He subsequently fortified the place, and, leaving in it a garrison of ten thousand men, marched into Belgrade. But being sufficiently satisfied as to the result of the campaign, the Sultan divided his army into two portions, one of which he quartered in the country around Belgrade, and, with the other, returned to Constantinople. These events closed the campaign of 1596.

Cicala Pasha, who, by his prudence and valour, was justly entitled to the honour of the success which attended the Sultan's arms at a moment of extreme danger, was rewarded by being appointed Vizier. For a considerable period no very marked success attended either of the belligerents; both parties seemed exhausted by their mutual losses, and no decisive

movements occurred. During the campaign of the four years succeeding these events, both seemed almost equal in their gains and losses. While, on the one hand, the imperialists attacked Raab and Temeswaer unsuccessfully, the Ottoman forces endeavoured in vain to take Waradin; and when Raab at length fell into the hands of the imperialists, the capital of Croatia was seized upon by the Sultan's forces. Weissenburg, too, was regained by the Turks, but, on the other hand, Pesth fell into the possession of their adversaries. Upon the whole, therefore, no events of very great moment distinguished either of the contending parties.

In the year 1600, however, events occurred in the eastern provinces of the Ottoman Empire calculated to produce very important results.

The Pasha of Caramania, named Cusahin, had been brought up in the seraglio, and was the son of one of the Sultanas. He had served in the wars of Hungary and Persia; and being a man of valour and ability, he was mortified at the imperfections of the Ottoman Empire, and the inactivity of the Sultan, and resolved to assert his independence, and to free the Caramanians from the yoke of the Sultan. For this purpose he claimed the honour of being a branch of the great family of the Khalcefehs, and declared he had a commission from "the Prophet" to reform abuses. These pretensions were not without their effect. He collected a considerable force, assumed the title of Shah, formed a court, appointed Viziers, issued fetvas, accompanied, as in the case of the Ottoman princes, with his monogram.

The Sultan becoming aware of this formidable revolt, despatched Mohammad Pasha, the son of the late Vizier Sinan, with all the troops he could on a short notice collect. This general succeeded in obtaining, by means of intrigue, what, by an appeal to arms, he might have completely failed to accomplish. One of Cusahin's confidential officers, named Scrivano, tempted by a bribe, and expecting to obtain the Pashalik, betrayed the new aspirant to royalty into the hands of the Sultan, and he was carried to Constantinople, and put to death by torture.

The Sultan, however, showed no disposition to keep his promise. Scrivano, thus disappointed in his expectations, endeavoured to seize upon the Pashalik by force. In this attempt he was unsuccessful, and was obliged to retire to Persia. There he gained the assistance of the mountaineers of the Tauris, and, with a large and efficient force, appeared in Diarbekr. The city of Baghdad almost immediately espoused his cause; and in the Asiatic provinces the prospects of the rebels were of the most encouraging nature. But while he was thus possessed of the highest expectations, death put an end to Scrivano's ambition. The revolt, however, did not terminate at his death. Hassan Bey, his brother, adopted his views with equal, if not increased confidence. The city and province of Angora was laid under a contribution, and produced three hundred thousand ducats. The revolt spread with amazing rapidity, and the rebels felt themselves sufficiently formidable to extend their depredations even to the shores of the Bosphorus, and had the boldness to carry off the magnificent stud of horses belonging to the Sultan, which, in the spring season, were sent to the pastures of Kiathna, for health and exercise. Mohammad's government, too feeble to oppose the revolt more effectually, compounded with the rebels, and hastened to appease them by granting their demands, on condition of their return to obedience; and their triumph was at the same time secured by the elevation of one of the most conspicuous of the rebels to the Pashalik of Bosnia. These concessions to the insurgents, however, produced the most serious consequences. The city of Raab having been captured by the Grand Vizier Hassan, on his return in great triumph, the utmost discontent prevailed among the Janizaries and the populace, in consequence of the concessions made to the rebels in Asia, and they demanded that the advisers of the Sultan should be put to death; and the Sultana, Mohammad's mother, narrowly escaped destruction.

The Janizaries, however, were not to be so easily pacified; they formed the idea of dethroning the Sultan, and placing in the sovereignty his son Mohammad, but the Sultan

had foreseen the danger, and had put the young prince to death.* The Janizaries, indeed, completely dissatisfied with the Sultan, had arranged the plan of a revolution, in which the mother of the murdered prince was implicated; and the unhappy woman, on the discovery of the plot, was seized, tied up in a sack, and cast into the Bosphorus.

While such was the state of affairs in the capital, Zel Ali, the commander of the Sultan's army in the provinces, had succeeded in defeating the Pasha of Bosnia, and in occupying his place. This, however, was contrary to the intention of the Sultan, and Zel Ali was at once devoted to destruction. He was accordingly invited to return to Constantinople by offers of further advancement. But the wily Pasha was well aware of what awaited him on obeying the command. He artfully replied, therefore, that he was already amply rewarded, and had no ambition for further emolument, adding, at the same time, a threat that if he were molested, he would join the imperialists. He thus contrived to escape the doom which awaited him, and furnished, at the same time, an example by which future Pashas were not slow to profit when it suited their ambition and desire of security to coerce the Sultan and his ministers into a recognition of their claims.

Such are a few of the principal incidents in the reign of Mohammad III. His reign was short, extending only over a period of eight years; and it exhibited symptoms not to be mistaken of considerable deterioration in the military renown of the Turkish Empire. Of this the two principal causes unquestionably were, on the one hand, the insubordination of the Janizaries, and, on the other, the feeble intellect and debased morals of the reigning monarch. The Sultan, indeed, almost from the day of his accession, gave himself up to indolence and excess, and thus abridged the period of his life. "He was," says his biographer, "altogether given to sensuality and voluptuous pleasure, the marks whereof he carried about with him in a foul, unwieldy, and overgrown body, unfit for any princely office or function, and a mind

* An act equally cruel and unjust; for, as afterwards appeared, the young prince was entirely innocent of any design of a disloyal character.

thereto answerable; wholly given over unto idleness, pleasure, and excess—no small means for the shortening of his days, which he ended in obloquy, unregarded of his subjects, and but by few or none of them lamented."

Mohammad III. died at Constantinople in the end of January 1604. He was succeeded by Achmet, his third son, who became heir to the throne in consequence of the death of his elder brother, who, as already stated, was condemned by his unnatural parent on an unjust and unfounded suspicion that he was forming a conspiracy against his father's life.

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1604—1623.

Accession of Achmet I.—His earliest proceedings—Apparent peace with Germany—War with Khan Abbas the Great—Disasters in Asia—Peace with Persia—War in Hungary—Treaty with the Emperor Rodolph—Treaty with France as to the Holy Sepulchre—Commercial treaty with Holland—Death of Achmet—Accession of Mustafa—His imbecility—His consequent deposition—Accession of Othoman II.—War with Poland—Discontent of the Janizaries—Murder of the Sultan—Recall of Sultan Mustafa—His second deposition.

ACHMET I. was only fifteen years of age when he succeeded his father in the throne of the Ottoman Empire. His first proceedings with the advice of the great officers of state was to present a liberal gift to the army. For this purpose the immense sum of two millions and a half was drawn from his father's treasury, and distributed among the Janizaries, so that every cavalry soldier received ten, and every Janizary thirty crowns as a largess. This step produced the effect which the advisers of the youthful Sultan intended, and prevented those disturbances which otherwise would inevitably have followed the death of Mohammad.

This liberal gift having been distributed to the great satisfaction of the troops, the young Sultan, seated in a magnificent chariot, so as to be seen by all the bystanders, and attired in robes resplendent with gold and jewels, passed in procession through the principal streets of Constantinople amid the joyful acclamations of an immense concourse of spectators, and was crowned with great solemnity — the general wish being, that, young as he was, he might commence his reign with the reduction of Malta, in imitation of his

predecessors, who signalized themselves soon after their accession by important additions to the territories of the empire. Many of his subjects, too, began in the fervour of their loyalty to entertain great expectations of the young monarch, from the circumstance that he was understood to possess a considerable degree of likeness to Mohammad the Great, the conqueror of Constantinople.

His first acts indicated considerable wisdom, both in the Sultan himself and his immediate advisers. Murad Pasha of Cairo, a man of wisdom and intelligence, who during the reign of his father had governed the African provinces with great skill, levying the taxes without oppressing the people, or laying up treasures for himself, was appointed Vizier, and the Sultana, his grandmother, who during his father's reign had ruled the empire as well as her son Mohammad, was compelled to retire into privacy, divested of all the authority which she had so long possessed, and so often abused.

Before the death of the late Sultan, a truce had been agreed upon between Hungary and Turkey, and now the treaty which seemed greatly desired by both parties seemed likely to be completed; and its ratification was celebrated by a great entertainment given by the people of Pesth to the Turks of Buda. Ten magnificent pavilions were erected in a convenient place at a little distance from the city, and the Commissioners, on the part of the Emperor and the pashas who represented the Sultan, partook of a sumptuous banquet. The treaty, however, which thus seemed likely to be completed, was never really concluded, and notwithstanding many fair promises on the part of the Turks, the attempt proved to be altogether vain.

Had a treaty of peace been completed, indeed, the disturbances in the Asiatic provinces of the empire would have rendered the measure in a great degree unavailing. These disturbances, instead of having been quelled, had increased—the rebels taking advantage of the extreme youth of the Sultan. Even those generals who were sent from head-quarters to defeat the insurgents, only attended to their personal interests, and were not unwilling to share the plunder which had fallen into the hands of the rebel leaders. While Anatolia thus be-

came a prey to civil commotions, a foreign enemy, distinguished by extraordinary talent and profound sagacity, arose in the person of the celebrated Shah Abbas the Great. That distinguished hero, having already defeated the Turcomans, and become possessor of Georgia, now desired to unite to his empire those territories of which it had been deprived by the Ottoman Sultans. Tauris had already surrendered to the victorious Persians, when Achmet appointed Cicala, son of the conqueror of Agria, to lead his armies through those deserts, which had been so fatal to thousands of their predecessors. In this campaign, although in one month his army sustained three successive defeats, Cicala still contrived to keep the field, encouraged by the declaration of the 'Ulama, that the death of one Persian was of more importance in the sight of God than that of sixty Christians—a declaration which so enraged Shah Abbas, that he put to death with torture every member of the 'Ulama who fell into his hands.

Cicala had at length to seek safety in flight, after leaving to the Persians his camp, artillery, and baggage, and having lost thirty thousand of his troops; and before the Sultan obtained a general of sufficient talent to oppose the Shah, he found himself deprived of a large portion of his Asiatic territories. Irak and Baghdad had again become the property of Persia; and had not the condition of the provinces prevented the Shah from attempting further conquests, the loss sustained by the Sultan would have been much greater.

Notwithstanding his successes, Shah Abbas earnestly desired peace with Achmet; while, on the other hand, the Sultan had at least equal reason to desire the cessation of hostilities. Achmet, nevertheless, could not bring himself to enter upon any arrangements for that purpose, unless on the condition of retaining all the conquests which his predecessors had made, and of a considerable portion of which he had now already been deprived.

The Shah, however, although he had been victorious in every instance, had the generosity to sue for peace, entertaining respect, as he could scarcely fail to do, for the scruples of the Sultan as to the loss of territory so dearly won.

In order to accomplish his object, by a little flattery ad-

dressed to the pride of the Sultan and his people, he proposed that if those countries were quietly resigned, they should be held by a Persian prince, who, as a vassal, should pay homage to the Sultan, and send an annual tribute of silk to Constantinople. The Persian envoy was moreover ordered, in the event of being unsuccessful, to defy the Sultan to single combat in the name of the Shah. This challenge, however chivalrous, it by no means suited the young Sultan to accept, and accordingly the overtures for peace were rejected.

Nothing could be more necessary to the welfare of Turkey, than the proposals of the brave and sagacious Shah Abbas. The Persian and Hungarian wars had exhausted the treasury of the empire. Thousands of the best and bravest defenders of the Crescent had fallen in the wars of the east and west, the fair province of Anatolia was laid waste, and such was the condition of the country, that it would have been impossible to obtain the means of carrying on a prolonged contest.

Various attempts were nevertheless made for this purpose. The Muftee issued his fetva at the desire of the Sultan, for the sale of the property of the mosques, to meet the expenses of the Persian war; but the troops refused to proceed to Asia, inspired doubtless by dread of their victorious adversary.

The Shah was not unaware of these difficulties; but with great generosity he forbore to use the advantage he thus possessed, and further, to remove the Sultan's scruples, he even offered to style the restored provinces the Pashalik of Tauris, and expressed his willingness that a Cadee sent from Constantinople should there dispense justice, engaging at the same time to pay two hundred bales of silks as a yearly tribute. These proposals on the part of Abbas were accompanied by splendid presents, which tended to conciliate the Sultan, and a peace was at length concluded, and a war was thereby terminated, which had continued for one hundred and fifty years, and had laid waste some of the most fertile as well as beautiful regions of the earth. A numerous army now ascended the Danube, and met with considerable success in Hungary. The city of Pesth became, either from terror or treachery, the property of the Sultan; and several other important fortresses speedily succumbed to his arms.

The exertions of the Emperor Rodolph were rendered in a great measure nugatory by the dissension prevailing in Germany; Hungary and Transylvania rebelled against his authority, and the Pasha of Buda led against him the subjects of those Christian provinces who were disaffected towards him. Neuhausel and Gran were carried by assault, by the united forces of the Turks and Hungarians, who defeated the imperialists; and in 1606 a treaty was entered into between the Emperor and the Sultan.

The reign of Achmet I. is remarkable for two treaties, which may be here referred to. One of them secured the renewal and enlargement of the first compact made with the French, by which facilities were given to approach the Holy Sepulchre of Jerusalem. The second was a commercial treaty, granting to the states of Holland privileges of the same kind as those which the most favoured countries had hitherto enjoyed. Holland already ranked high among the maritime nations of Europe, and the Turkish policy being of a liberal character, great benefits arose to the Sublime Porte, from the intercourse thus established with the intelligent and industrious, as well as enterprising inhabitants of the Netherlands. During the latter part of his reign, the sympathies of Europe were excited by the struggle maintained between the Ottoman forces and a resolute and gallant race inhabiting the mountains of Syria, known as the Druses, and headed by Faker-el-din or Fakraddeen. This people or sect originated in the beginning of the eleventh century. Their first leader was a water-carrier of Cairo, who pretended that he was a descendant of the Ommiade Khaleefehs. He was cruelly put to death by being led on a camel through the streets of Cairo, while an ape, trained for the purpose, struck him on the head with a stone till he expired. This did not extinguish the sect; on the contrary, the persecution of the Egyptian Khaleefeh tended to increase them. Their leaders made many converts in Syria, and they took up their abode among the fastnesses of Lebanon and other mountainous districts. Although the Druses believed in the Kur-án, they paid no reverence whatever to "the Prophet." They differed also in many essential points from the Mohammadans, properly so called; and hence the Turks

regarded them with the utmost detestation, and, had it been possible, would have completely exterminated them; but as the peace also which had with so much difficulty been concluded with the Persians was now seriously threatened, it became requisite for the Sultan to conciliate the hardy followers of Fakraddeen, and in a quarrel which took place between that leader and the Pasha of Tripoli, the Sultan decided in favour of the former. This decision, however, displeased Shah Abbas, and he accordingly prepared to carry war into the Turkish dominions. The Pasha of Damascus with a large army attacked him near Bussorah, but was entirely defeated, although by a force much less than his own. The victorious Persian then resolved to prosecute his hostile designs, and for this purpose removed his court to Baghdad, and made great preparations for opening the campaign. Achmet now resolved to meet his foe in the field of battle, as his warlike ancestors were wont to do, but he did not live to carry out this resolution. He died in November 1617.

A great variety of incidents crowd into the reign of Achmet I., but few of them possess any high degree of interest. The Sultan at a very tender age was raised to the throne, and possessed of unlimited means of self-indulgence before he possessed experience to guard against the danger. It is not surprising, therefore, that nothing illustrious adorns in this reign the imperial annals; the pleasures of the chase and the amusement of falconry shared more of the Sultan's time than the most important affairs of state, and an unlimited indulgence in the luxuries of the harem rendered him inadequate to the weighty duties of his public office. Thus during his whole reign the troops were ill-paid and carelessly provisioned; the provinces were almost continually in disorder, and the imperial treasury in an exhausted condition.

Achmet was succeeded by his brother Mustafa, for his eldest son, who was only twelve years of age, was too young to be placed on the throne. Mustafa, who had attained the age of five-and-twenty, had spent his life in strict seclusion, and occupied in a great measure studying the literature of Arabia. His brother Achmet is said, after the

birth of his own children, to have twice resolved upon the death of Mustafa, and on both occasions to have been suddenly prevented from carrying out his fatal purpose by circumstances which seemed to mark out the prince as being reserved by providence for some important undertaking. When, however, the Sultan found himself dying, he considered it requisite that, because of the extreme youth of his son, the regular order of succession should be altered, and having summoned Mustafa into his presence, he declared him his successor, recommending to his care the children of the Sultana, and entreating him to take upon him the government of the empire. The amazement of Mustafa may be conceived at the sudden change in his circumstances. From a prison he had been exalted to a throne, and although every hour previously in danger of his life, he now possessed absolute control over the lives and fortunes of thousands. Achmet had possessed a considerable reputation for soundness of judgment, but whether the sudden alteration in his condition had injuriously affected him, it is difficult to say, but certain it is, his conduct soon proved that his intellect was weak, and that he was wholly incapable of retaining the high position to which he had so unexpectedly been raised. He committed indeed a variety of errors wholly inconsistent with sound judgment—elevating pages of his seraglio almost in their infancy to the rank of Pashas; conferring inordinate rewards on mere peasants for the most trivial service, such as the offering him a cup of water when hunting, and exhibiting the grossest ignorance of the laws of nations by seizing upon the French ambassador, and placing him in prison, on the most frivolous and unfounded accusations—subjecting his servants to torture, and compelling him to pay for their liberation from confinement. These proofs of imbecility rendered his removal absolutely requisite, and the Muftee and 'Ulama united their authority with the chief officers of state to effect his dethronement, and to elevate Prince Othoman, the eldest son of the late Sultan. To procure his death was no part of the plan adopted. His obvious weakness of intellect proved his security, for the Turks regard a person

in a state of idiocy or insanity as peculiarly sacred. Sultan Mustafa, therefore, was quietly superseded by his youthful nephew, Othoman II., and thus after a reign of about five months he again retired from the world.

The youthful Sultan who ascended the throne in 1618 was placed under the care of the Grand Vizier Mohammad and Khalil Pasha. But young as he was, he quickly exhibited a degree of vigour far beyond his years. He possessed an earnest desire of power, and although a mere boy, continually spoke of preserving the conquests, and emulating in his reign the military glory of that of Solyman the Magnificent. Besides making every effort to add to his bodily strength, he employed himself in proceeding in disguise through every part of his capital, visiting not only the mosques, but even the coffee-houses, bazaars, and market-places; and wherever he found, or thought he found, the law infringed, punishing its violators with the utmost severity. The exercise of unrestricted power is highly dangerous for an immature mind; and thus, in the case of this juvenile potentate, the worst passions became early developed. Pride, cruelty, tyranny soon became habitual to the young man, and the possession of absolute power rendered him both rash and obstinate; and thus he exhibited two qualities very different from firmness and courage. He had early imbibed an extreme dread of the Janizaries, whose revolts during his father's reign had afforded numerous evidences of their power; and not the least remarkable proof was the circumstance, that at each time of their rebellion, instead of being punished, they were rewarded. The young monarch entertained that desire to destroy these turbulent soldiers which was cherished by all his predecessors, and at length terminated in their destruction. One of the first questions to be decided was that of the scene in which the army should be employed, for it was impossible with safety to the state to allow the Janizaries to remain idle. But to arrive at a decision on this point was far from being an easy matter.

A battle had been fought with the Khan of Persia, in which the forces of the Sultan, although sustaining great

losses, had the advantage; but a treaty of peace had been soon after concluded. Persia, therefore, had ceased to afford occupation to the Sultan's troops. The Cossacks on the Borysthenes continued to infest the shores of the Black Sea, and carried on an offensive war against the Tartars of the Crimea. They had recently engaged the forces sent against them, and having dispersed the Ottoman galleys, were bold enough even to advance on Constantinople, and endanger the security of the imperial residence. These circumstances tempted the Sultan and his advisers to war with Poland, of which kingdom the Cossacks were subjects. The condition of the Germanic Empire, however, attracted the attention of the Sultan, as being peculiarly fitted to enable him to gratify his ambition to become the undisputed possessor of Hungary. On the death of the Emperor Matthias, in March 1619, Ferdinand was chosen as his successor; but the Bohemian states refused to recognise him, in consequence chiefly of his attachment to the Papal Church. They therefore unanimously elected Frederick the Elector Palatine, who was the son-in-law of James I. of England. A civil war accordingly was the inevitable consequence, and this opened up to the ambition of the Sultan and his people a wide field. Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, flew to arms, and, reinforced by the Pasha of Buda, aspired to hold the kingdom of Hungary as the vassal of the Sultan, and to prepare for the Turkish forces the way to Vienna. This view the Grand Vizier supported from its obvious advantages. The Vizier, however, endeavoured to dissuade the Sultan from a war with Poland, knowing, as he did, the obstinate as well as chivalrous valour of the Poles; but his counsel met with no attention. The Sultan suspected him of treason, and threatened him with death, and in 1621 war with Poland was formally declared. Othoman formed the resolution personally to take the field with his army, and vast preparations were made for nearly a year to open the campaign. His army consisted of three hundred thousand men, besides a multitude of persons attached to the troops; and the artillery consisted of three hundred cannon, with an additional hundred sent by sea to

the frontiers. King Sigismund, however, had made the utmost preparations to meet the formidable army sent against him.

On arriving in Moldavia the Sultan exhibited intense eagerness to commence the struggle; but having laid siege ineffectually for more than a month to a strongly garrisoned fortress, it was found hopeless to continue the assault. On several occasions the Ottoman forces suffered severely at the hands of their warlike and active adversaries; but other impediments rendered their enterprise abortive. Winter was setting in; the extremely heavy rain and increasing cold rendered it impossible to continue their efforts; fever began everywhere to prevail; vast numbers of men and horses died.

The losses which thus fell upon the Ottoman army, and the inconveniences to which they were subjected, tended very much to abate the zeal with which they had been animated, and at last their spirits became completely broken. The conduct of the Sultan aggravated the evils which they endured, and the whole army felt that their leader had too little experience to merit their confidence, while his avarice and parsimony, so different from the liberality of his predecessors, excited their disgust. His violent temper and thoughtless severity increased the discontent prevailing among his harassed soldiers; and he completed the feeling of disloyalty which had sprung up, by putting to death one hundred Janizaries as an example; thus attempting to terrify those rude soldiers whom other Sultans, with infinitely greater power and ability, had been too glad to conciliate by liberal donatives. The spirit of mutiny began everywhere to prevail throughout the army, and the Sultan was universally accused, and not unjustly, of tyranny and imprudence, as well as inexperience. Selim and Solyman," it was said, "made themselves felt by bounties, not by cruelties; but Othoman is able to shed the blood of his soldiers more freely than that of his foes." Amid these well-founded causes of dissatisfaction, the influence of Othoman's generals prevailed; the troops again attempted to carry the Polish camp; they were, however,

again repulsed with great loss, and the last battle with the Polish troops caused the loss of twenty thousand of the Sultan's best soldiers. These disasters, accompanied by the severity of the weather and the pressure of famine and sickness in the camp, completed the growing insubordination of the Janizaries, who began the retreat, execrating the authors of the expedition, and threatening destruction to every one who would again urge them to return to the conflict. Subsequently, arrangements for peace were entered upon by both belligerents, who were equally desirous of terminating a struggle so disastrous.

In this abortive attempt upon the Poles, it is said that eighty thousand men were lost either in battle or otherwise, and more than a hundred thousand horses, most of which died for want of fodder, and from neglect of suitable arrangements. It may therefore be readily supposed that the mortification felt by the Sultan was extreme. But while he accused his army of riot, insubordination, and cowardice, as the causes of his disappointment, his soldiers, on the other hand, placed to the account of his avarice and inexperience the miserable and forlorn condition in which they returned.

While the Sultan thus cherished his hatred of the Janizaries, of whose fierce and turbulent character he now had received sufficient evidence, the sentiments with which he regarded them were rendered more intense by the representations of one of his Pashas, who had exercised authority in Syria, and who had become bold enough to express his opinions to his royal master. This Pasha, whose name was Delavir, declared proudly to Othoman, that so long as the insolent Janizaries existed, he never could possess exclusive authority, and assured him that he could easily provide him with an efficient and well trained army, who should be able not only to counteract the insubordination of the Janizaries, but eventually to supersede them. He advised the Sultan, therefore, that he should pretend either to take a pilgrimage to Mekkeh, or to take arms against the Emir of Sidon, and that, to lull suspicion, he should leave Constantinople with

only a small retinue. These advices Delavir Pasha kept a profound secret from all but the Sultan, but certain expressions which the latter let fall as to the cowardice of the Janizaries, and his own facility in obtaining better troops, awakened the suspicion of the Muftee and others in power as to the real intentions of the Sultan.* These suspicions aroused into activity the animosity with which the Sultan was already regarded, and Othoman having already abridged the authority of the Muftee, added to the provocation thus given, by repudiating the daughter of that important functionary on the day subsequent to that on which he had married her.

The pontiff now resolved upon vigorous measures, and instantly issued a fetva, which declared, on the authority of the 'Ulama, that the pilgrimage of the Sultan was a violation of the "doctrinal law." This at once brought matters to a crisis. The Janizaries assembled before the gates of the seraglio; demanded the head of the Grand Vizier, and, finding their application unattended to, broke into open revolt, declaring that they would restore Mustafa to the throne. Forty thousand voices united in the demand, and the whole city was in an uproar. Looking upon their determination, as sanctioned by the will of heaven, as expressed or at least implied in the decree of the 'Ulama, they broke through the gates, and rushing tumultuously into the courts of the seraglio, seized upon the terrified officials, and ordered them instantly to lead the way to Mustafa's prison. The feeble prince, already so often the sport of fortune, beholding the multitude, concluded that they sought his life, and being unable to comprehend their intention, meekly presented his neck to them for the fatal bowstring, believing that the hour decreed by fate had now arrived. During the preceding three days of tumult, he had been utterly forgotten in his prison, and he was so weak with exhaustion from want of food, that he sunk fainting into the arms of those around him. Othoman soon understood the intention of the insurgents, and made every possible effort to evade their wrath by offering to accede to all their demands. His attempts were vain, the

* Despatches of Sir Thomas Roe, ambassador of James I.

opportunity was lost for ever. Othoman sought safety in flight, and escaping from the palace, concealed himself from the popular fury in the house of the Aga of the very Janizaries whom he had so recklessly denounced. The Aga venturing to express his pity at the sovereign's reverses, was instantly despatched by the infuriated soldiers, and the Sultan being discovered, was dragged from the Aga's house to the mosque of Achmet. Hither the trembling Mustafa had also been carried, utterly bewildered by the confusion he beheld around him. Othoman was then accused before Mustafa, but that prince could not comprehend the scene in which he was acting so important a part. He was understood, therefore, by a nod, to have signified his will that Othoman should be imprisoned, and he was forthwith conveyed to the Seven Towers.

On the death of the Grand Vizier, who had been recently cut to pieces by the soldiers for his well known devotedness to the interest of Othoman, a man of the name of Daood had been raised to his office. This Vizier was fully convinced that while Othoman lived, he himself could not be secure. He therefore resolved to put an end to the danger, by the instant death of the unfortunate youth. Proceeding to his prison with a few assistants, he found that Othoman, overpowered by the want of rest for the two preceding nights, had sunk into a profound sleep. On awaking, however, with the noise of their entrance, he prepared to defend himself, when one of the regicides struck him on the head with a battle-axe, and the rest completed the work with the bowstring. Thus died Othoman II. He was only in his eighteenth year, and he fell a victim not more to the violence of his soldiers, than to his own inexperience and presumption. The death of this ill-fated prince, which occurred in 1622, afforded the first instance in which the Turks had ventured to spill the blood of their Sultans.

Mustafa was again on the throne, but the imbecility previously manifested had been, it is more than probable, confirmed as well as increased by the frightful scenes and perpetual terrors through which he had passed. The entire control of

the government passed into the hands of the Daood Pasha, the new Vizier, and those of the ambitious Sultana, who had by Othoman been deprived of her assumed authority. The various elements at work could hardly fail speedily to bring about some new convulsion; and there were not wanting those who predicted the rapid demolition of the Ottoman Empire. The provinces were in an uproar. The Pasha of Erzeroum collected an immense army, and prepared to march upon Constantinople, declaring himself resolved to avenge on the Janizaries the death of Sultan Othoman. The Pasha of Baghdad threw off his allegiance, and the Shah of Persia recalled his ambassador, and made vigorous preparations once more to invade the territories of his ancient enemies. Amid these threatening circumstances, a revulsion of feeling took place among the insurgents themselves in the imperial city. They began to regret the crime they had committed in putting their Sultan to death; in the thought of his youth and noble mien his errors were forgotten, and the sentiment of pity which enters so largely into the feeling of remorse, led his destroyers to lament the unbridled fury which had issued in so fatal and so perilous a result.

Under such circumstances it was not to be expected that Daood, the actual murderer of the Sultan, could be safe. Although he bribed the Janizaries with forty thousand sequins of gold, his death could not be delayed. He was seized, placed in the same vehicle in which the late Sultan had been conducted to prison, and conveyed to the chamber which had been the scene of his last struggles with his murderers. When Othoman was on his way to prison, he had begged a draught of water from a fountain which he passed. It was observed that Daood Pasha solicited the same favour. When he arrived in the fatal apartment, and the guards were beginning to tie him, he pointed out to them the very corner in which he had killed the royal prisoner so shortly before, and begged to be put to death there.

It was soon perceived that Mustafa could not be permitted to occupy the throne. His incapacity, of which the ministers of state had not been ignorant, was speedily ren-

dered manifest in the high position to which he was elevated, and which demanded the exercise of the greatest mental vigour and intelligence. The public safety demanded his deposition, and in 1623 the decree of the Muftee and the 'Ulama reduced him once more to a private station. His mental weakness ought to have saved his life, but after spending many years in solitude, he became the victim of the hatred or jealousy of his successor.

CHAPTER XVII.

A. D. 1623—1640.

Accession of Amurath IV.—His first proceedings—Intercourse with his soldiers—Severity of his regulations—State of Europe—Successes of Shah Abbas the Great in the East—Death of that monarch—The Sultan prepares to invade Persia—Captures Erivan—Reduces Tauris and Armenia—Revolt of the Khan of Tartary—Capture of Azof by the Poles—Importance of the Crimea to the Turkish Empire—The Sultan marches to Persia—Siege of Baghdad—Its reduction—Frightful massacre of the inhabitants—Threats addressed to the Shah—The Sultan returns to Europe—His triumphant entry into Constantinople—His intemperance—His death.

IT is impossible to describe the confusion which prevailed during the reign of Mustafa. The power of government was entirely in the hands of the military, and they appointed and deposed according to their caprice. At the same instant there were in being seven grand Viziers, three Treasurers, and six Pashas of Cairo; and the same confusion prevailed in all the provinces.* On the retirement of Mustafa, it was at once resolved that Amurath, the brother of the late Sultan Othoman, a boy of about fourteen years of age, should be raised to the vacant throne.

The young prince was possessed of many qualities calculated to gain popularity. His aspect was hopeful and promising, he excelled in personal strength and activity, was the best horseman in the empire, and had no superior in the use of martial weapons. The difficulties with which the young Sultan had to contend were great and numerous; and the chief of these difficulties arose from the discontent and insubordination of the Janizaries, who were exasperated at the loss

* Sir P. Rycaut, History of Turkey, vol. i.

of the usual largess bestowed upon them at the accession of a new sovereign, but which the impoverished state of the public treasury rendered it impossible for them on the present occasion to obtain. They had already received the usual donation thrice in as many years, in consequence of the repeated changes which had taken place, and now the treasurer of the empire became the victim of their rage, because he refused to allow them further pillage. These atrocities the Sultan could not prevent, but they tended to increase the detestation with which he already learned to regard his ferocious soldiery.

The deposition and death of the Vizier and several Pashas, and the confiscation of the enormous wealth they had amassed, tended in the interim to supply the necessities of the state. The Pasha of Erzeroum had performed the vow which he had made, by the death of a large number of the Janizary force, to avenge the murder of Othoman, and, as a consequence, Anatolia was rendered absolutely desolate. When the Pasha became aware of the ascension of Amurath, he retired to his Pashalik; and having been besieged in Erzeroum, surrendered after a desperate resistance to Khalil Pasha, and the Janizaries immediately demanded that he should be put to death. Khalil, however, carried him to Constantinople, and presented him to the Sultan, who, admiring his valour, and knowing the value of such a hero to his empire, granted him his life, appointed him Pasha of Bosnia, and thus firmly attached him to his interest.

The Sultan adopted every method he could devise to increase his authority over the rude soldiers who possessed, and were always ready to exercise, such tremendous power in the state. For this purpose he mingled with them in their exercises, challenged them to feats of dexterity and strength, and by exhibiting his superiority in those qualities, the possession of which constituted their highest estimate of excellence, compelled them to perceive in him an object of respect, and one whom each soldier could obey without the consciousness of serving a master inferior in personal prowess to himself. Having thus rendered himself an object of dread, he adopted with comparative safety measures which a Sultan possessed

of less personal vigour could never have ventured to take. He arrested those of the Janizaries whom he suspected of sedition, and ordered their immediate execution. Several leaders of the Spahees were beheaded, and even the common soldiers were not spared.

The Sultan resolved to accomplish what was absolutely requisite for the existence of his throne, by insisting on implicit obedience to his will. For this purpose, the utmost rigour was requisite. Accordingly, the slightest disobedience was punished with death; and in some instances, the Sultan with his own hand put his sentences into execution. Severe and stringent rules were instituted, and enforced with unsparing severity. All meetings of more than two or three persons were forbidden by proclamation. It was ordered that at an early hour the inhabitants should retire to their homes, and extinguish their fires and lamps; and frequently, to ascertain that these orders were punctually adhered to, Amurath accompanied the patrols, and thus exhibited an example of energy and determination which could not fail to be of the utmost moment to his troops, as well as to all his subjects.

During the first twelve years of the reign of Amurath IV., the Ottoman Empire had been occupied with active hostilities in different parts of Europe, and especially with Poland, Germany, and the maritime powers of the Mediterranean. It is however impossible, within prescribed limits, to relate the incidents of all those military proceedings which crowd into the period.

In the east, however, great losses had been sustained. Shah Abbas, a sovereign well entitled to the epithet "Great," had repossessed himself of Diarbekr, Baghdad, the district of the Euphrates, with Kourdistan; and, on the north, he had regained Armenia, and a considerable part of Anatolia. The Sultan therefore resolved to undertake an expedition to recover the territories thus taken from him, and to this he was encouraged by the death of his formidable foe the Persian monarch. Amurath marched from his capital early in 1635, to superintend the operations of the campaign. In the course of the march, he exhibited an example which excited the

unbounded admiration of his troops, and led them to emulate their royal leader. He marched on foot, enduring the effects of a scorching sun, took his rest on the bare ground, and made use of the same fare as the humblest of his soldiers. In passing through Asia, he took care personally to examine into the conduct of his various Pashas, and wherever it was requisite he subjected them to a severe punishment. One of them, the Pasha of Erzeroum, was put to death. Having at that city reviewed his army, he found them to amount to two hundred thousand men, and as his first object was the seizure of Armenia, the key of the Persian provinces, he besieged Erivan, and notwithstanding a vigorous defence, the fortress in a few days surrendered.

Tauris and the surrounding provinces speedily fell into his hands, and Amurath returned in the winter to Constantinople, entering the city in great triumph.. The affairs of Europe were in such a state of confusion, that it was several years ere he again appeared in the east, the scene of so many of his victories. The Khan of Tartary threw off his allegiance, the Polish serfs appeared suddenly on the Caspian shores, and, joining a body of Russians, attacked and carried the fortress of Azof. The position of the Crimea, with reference to the Turkish dominions and the imperial city, had always led the Ottoman Porte justly to regard this portion of its territory of the highest value, and Amurath was deeply concerned at the loss now sustained.*

The European war, which at this time occurred, rendered it unnecessary for the Sultan to entertain any serious apprehension from his enemies in the west, who were sufficiently occupied with their own affairs. He therefore directed his attention to Persia, resolved to subjugate that country, and to seize upon Baghdad. To this end his preparations were proportionally great.

* The aggressions of Russia at the present day, and the vast importance of the Crimea as a means of continuing those aggressions, cannot fail, during the present war, to render the Sultan desirous, if possible, to regain that portion of the ancient territories of his empire; and it is earnestly to be desired that the allies of the Porte will endeavour, as a security for future peace, to withdraw from the possession of Russia a district so important.

An immense army was collected on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus. This mighty host numbered more than three hundred thousand armed men, and was accompanied by a numerous array of miners, as well as artillery. And after having consulted an astrologer, Amurath embarked amid all the display which Asiatic pomp could furnish, and directed his progress towards Persia.

After a successful march, this immense army arrived at Baghdad. The city was strongly fortified, and defended by a resolute army of eighty thousand men. The Shah, however, was absent in the northern part of his dominions, which had been threatened by an invasion from India, under Shah Jehan, father of the celebrated Aurungzebe. Baghdad, therefore, was left to its own resources. The operations of the siege began in October 1638. Nothing could be more imposing than the appearance of the besieging army, whose innumerable tents covered the wide plains on the left bank of the Tigris. The Sultan arranged the plan of attack with the utmost care, distributing his forces with great skill at the chief gates of the city at which the attack was to begin, and visiting himself, clad as a common soldier, to escape notice, the various posts. In the short space of three days the trenches were opened, batteries raised, and the cannon planted. Amurath having brought the first basket of earth with his own hand, and, when the siege began, having also fired the first of the two hundred cannon, intended to batter the walls. The Sultan took a most prominent part in the desperate conflict that ensued, engaging in personal encounters the most formidable of the enemy, and with extraordinary valour and success, and by his example, his soldiers were incited to unremitting exertion. The besieged made repeated sallies, with a force of five or six thousand men at a time, who, on retiring, were succeeded by a similar number, and thus the losses of the Ottoman army were sometimes very great. The two hundred great guns, however, which played upon the ramparts, at length made a wide opening in the walls, and after five days' fighting in the breach thus made, where "the slain lay in immense multitudes, and the blood was stagnated like a pool to wade through," the city was

taken. Quarter was given to twenty-four thousand of the defenders, who remained alive, on condition that they would lay down their arms. But as soon as they had done so, the Sultan perfidiously issued orders to the Janizaries, and the work of butchery commenced, and was carried on by torch-light during the night on which the city was taken, and an indiscriminate slaughter took place, neither youth, nor age, nor sex being spared by the ruthless conqueror, and his merciless soldiers.

The capture of this vast and wealthy city was celebrated throughout the Ottoman Empire with the utmost joy, and, according to the Sultan's orders, a feast of thanksgiving of twenty days' duration took place, in Constantinople, the houses were illuminated at night, and little or no business was transacted—an arrangement, which the industrious classes felt and complained of as being peculiarly oppressive. Having thus taken Baghdad, the Sultan garrisoned it with thirty thousand men, and after the return of an army of forty thousand more, whom he had sent into Persia, he placed them around the city in various districts to quell disturbances, or check any efforts that might be made by the Persians.

In the morning of the 23d of December the Sultan marched into the city, passing with his army over the innumerable bodies of the unfortunate Persians, whose gallant defence merited a better fate. Some fifteen thousand women children and old men were all that remained of the inhabitants, who, but a day or two before, filled every part of the magnificent capital. The cries of anguish uttered by this miserable remnant were drowned by the sounds of martial music, as the victorious tyrant and his squadrons swept through the blood-stained streets of the now desolated city.

The Sultan's state of health was such as to render his return to Constantinople requisite; and having despatched a letter to the Shah, by the hands of that monarch's ambassador, whom he had purposely detained in his camp during the whole of the siege, he demanded the cession of the provinces formerly belonging to the Ottomans, and threatened, in the event of this demand not being complied with, to return next year and enforce it with a still larger army.

The entry of the Sultan into Constantinople was in the highest degree imposing. The favourite Sultana preceded him in a coach resplendent with gold, and silver. Her person blazed with diamonds and other precious stones, and her numerous retinue, among whom were the chief officers of state, formed a procession of the most magnificent character.

The Sultan's appearance was still more striking. He rode a superb charger, and was attired in the Persian costume, with a leopard's skin thrown over his shoulders, and his armour and weapons set with diamonds. Twenty of the noblest Persians, captives of Baghdad, whom he had reserved for the purpose of his triumph, walked on foot before him, fettered with great chains of gold, and following these were immense chests of treasure, brought not only from Baghdad, but from those other cities and fortresses which had fallen into the Sultan's hands, and made up also of the wealth of those Pashas whom he had despoiled.

The capture of Baghdad closed the military career of the Sultan. He had for many years given himself up to habits of intemperance, which had affected his health and brought on disease. He was after his return to his capital encouraged in his bacchanalian orgies by certain favourites with whom he continually associated. At the feast of Bairam in 1640, he and his boon companions resolved to celebrate the festival by a jovial banquet, and after partaking of salt meats and highly-seasoned dishes, to encourage their thirst, drank so copiously of wine, "twisted and encouraged," as his biographer expresses himself, "with strong waters called Rosa Solis," that the Sultan became insensible, fever set in, and, notwithstanding all the efforts of his physicians, he died on the 8th February.

Amurath IV., although undoubtedly a great monarch, and possessed of many distinguished qualities, must nevertheless be considered as one of the most remorseless and implacable tyrants who ever occupied a throne. In this brief outline it is impossible to relate all his atrocities. He had embrued his hands in the blood of his two brothers, Orchan and Bajazet, and had caused his helpless uncle, the late Sultan Mustafa, whose weakness ought to have been his

protection, to be put to death; even his brother Ibrahim, who succeeded him, narrowly escaped destruction.

Ibrahim was not highly favoured by nature as to his personal appearance, and was on that account, it is presumed, an object of dislike to his brother the Sultan, who consequently resolved if possible to divert the sovereignty from him, and with this purpose succeeded in compelling some of his ministers to swear that they would at his own death elevate to his throne a Tartar prince named Han, who was related to the Sultan's family. Had this project been carried out, the lineal descendants of Othoman would have ceased to reign.

Amurath died unlamented by any one of his subjects, with the exception perhaps of the two worthless persons who were his usual companions in his debaucheries.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A. D. 1640—1648.

Accession of Ibrahim—His character—The siege of Azof—The Ottoman forces repulsed by the Cossacks—Second attack on the fortress successful—Attempt to take Raab by stratagem—Capture of Turkish ships by the Maltese—Rupture with the Republic of Venice—Preparations to attack Malta—Reduction of Candia—Reprisals of the Venetians—The Ottoman forces defeated in their attempts on Zara and Spalatro—Conduct of the Sultan—He insults the Muftee—The Janizaries rise in arms—He is put to death on the decree of the 'Ulama.

ON the death of Amurath IV., the Sultana, his mother, a woman of great mental vigour, and who possessed considerable authority, succeeded without very great difficulty in persuading the principal ministers of state to set aside as unlawful the arrangement regarding the succession which had been made by the Sultan. A council being held, it was resolved accordingly that Ibrahim should be proclaimed.

This prince had passed several years immured in a prison, into which neither sufficient light nor air could enter, and beset by the daily and hourly expectation of being put to death by his brother. It is scarcely possible to imagine any condition more miserable, or more likely to weaken a mind even originally strong; but this prince was not gifted by nature with a vigorous intellect, and thus, in the miserable solitude to which he had been so long confined, he became the prey of the acutest tortures of suspense and terror.

When the resolution was formed of elevating him to the throne, the Viziers, the officers of the seraglio, and their attendants, proceeded with acclamations to the prison to libe-

rate the wretched recluse, and transfer him from his loathsome confinement to the splendour of a throne. As the crowd of courtiers approached the entrance of the prison, each more ready than the other to pay his homage to the new sovereign, the prince thought that at last the fatal moment had come which he had so long expected, and that the ministers of death were about to seize on him. Life could have possessed few charms for the poor captive, almost deprived of light and air; but even in such circumstances, nay, in those still more hopeless, life is a boon too valuable to be cast away. Ibrahim, therefore, barred and barricadoed the door of his apartment against his unexpected visitors. They informed him of his elevation, but he would not credit it, supposing it to be an artifice of his persecutors; nor was it until he heard the voice of his mother the Sultana assuring him that Amurath was dead, that he admitted his future ministers, and received their salutations.

On the completion of the usual ceremonial of the coronation of the new Sultan, during which Ibrahim did not exhibit any marks of that vigour and intelligence by which his predecessor was distinguished, the government continued to be carried on by the same ministers who had acted during the latter part of Amurath's reign.

The Grand Vizier, not unmindful of the intentions of the late Sultan, resolved upon war with the Cossacks, which he justly conceived would be highly popular, and which he trusted would be prosecuted by the new Sultan, if not with the same ability, yet in the same spirit in which the late sovereign would have carried it on. These, however, were matters in which Sultan Ibrahim took no interest. He seemed wholly devoted to enjoyment. Having been so long accustomed to restraint, he seemed resolved to make the most of his recently acquired liberty, and spent his whole time in frivolous and, indeed, sensual pursuits. Banquets and feasts engaged his continual attention; and, from incapacity as well as disinclination, he shunned all attempts to engage in any serious business. Thus the government lay entirely in the hands of the Sultana and the ministers of the late Sultan, who now continued in office.

Mustafa, the Grand Vizier of Amurath, merited the honour of being continued in his office. He was a man of great ability, and his valour as a soldier was only equalled by the frankness of his disposition and the integrity of his mind. This able minister nevertheless gained no inconsiderable support from the Sultana Kiosem, whose great ability and masculine vigour of mind enabled her to attain almost a sacred character in the public estimation, and to exercise almost unlimited authority. One of the first objects to which the Grand Vizier directed his attention was the recovery of the fortress of Azof from the Cossacks. Arrangements had been made by the late Sultan, and the warlike minister resolved to carry out the project so long contemplated. A large and efficient force was collected, consisting not only of Janizaries, but Moldavians, Wallachians, and even Tartars, and early in 1641 the siege of Azof was undertaken, and by the end of July the fortress was closely invested both by sea and land. The Cossacks were compelled to defend themselves unaided by any allies, the persevering enmity of the Porte having prevented their being able to obtain assistance. Having defended the country with the utmost pertinacity, the enemy were at last confined within the walls. Such was the gallantry of their defence, that every assault was repulsed; till, in the month of October, the periodical storms with which the Black Sea is visited, obliged the Turkish fleet to take shelter in the adjacent ports. The unsuccessful issue of this attack on Azof was attributed by the Grand Vizier to the unskilfulness of the admiral, who was immediately deprived of his command, and his wealth having been confiscated, Piali was raised to the office of Capitan Pasha. The Grand Vizier, however, resolved to carry on the siege, and the following spring saw the Ottomans in front of the walls of Azof, which in the meantime had been considerably strengthened. The efforts of the Ottoman troops were redoubled; and although the Cossacks defended the fortress with undiminished valour, their numbers had become less during a siege of great severity. Having at last in desperation blown up the walls, the besieged forced their way through the ranks of their invaders, and sought safety amid the morasses on the shores of the Caspian.

The fortress of Azof being taken, and the Persian ambassador having renewed the treaty of peace with the Sultan, the Grand Vizier resolved to employ his forces by an attack on Hungary, and the capture of the fortress and city of Raab. The stratagem adopted to accomplish this object deserves to be related. The peace which had now existed for some twenty years, led the Vizier to expect that the garrison of Raab would have but little suspicion of any design on the part of the Turks to assault them, and therefore that the place might be much more easily surprised. A force of about five thousand soldiers were marched with the utmost caution towards the fortress, and concealed in a valley in its vicinity. Several waggons were then procured, and filled with soldiers habited like the peasantry of the country, and covered over with hay, with which the waggons appeared to be loaded. These soldiers, it was expected, would thus be enabled to enter the city, when they were to leap from their places of concealment and overpower the guards, by which time they would be joined by their companions who lay in ambush in the neighbourhood, and thus make themselves masters of the place. It happened, however, that an officer of the garrison returning from hunting, became aware that a strong party of Turks were concealed in the neighbourhood, and having hastened towards the city, he overtook the pretended carts of hay, in which he thought he perceived something extraordinary. He passed onwards, however, without allowing it to be supposed that he had any suspicion; and having entered the gates, he immediately gave the alarm. The waggons were, however, permitted to enter, and the bridges having been drawn up, they were searched, and the party concealed in the hay taken prisoners. The treacherous design was then discovered and frustrated, so that the Ottoman force had to return without accomplishing their intended enterprise. An ambassador was immediately sent to Constantinople by the Emperor to complain of the attack; but from various causes no actual war ensued.

In 1644 the Ottoman fleet made a descent upon the coasts of Calabria, and carried off a number of slaves; but on a further attempt met with a considerable loss, when an incident

occurred which commenced a tedious and disastrous war with the Venetian Republic.

It happened that the Kislar-Aga having purchased a beautiful Persian and her son, became devotedly attached to them; and some jealousy having arisen in the seraglio in consequence of the affection which the Sultan himself felt for the beautiful child of this Persian, the Aga resolved to retire from his office, and taking his favourite with him, reside for the remainder of his days in Egypt, after having accomplished his pilgrimage to Mekkeh. Having obtained permission from the Sultan, the Aga placed his property, consisting of an immense amount of treasure in money and jewels, on board a large vessel, and having embarked with his slave and her son, set sail to Alexandria, accompanied by two other and smaller ships. Having been driven into Rhodes by stress of weather, they subsequently sailed with a fair wind for Egypt, when unhappily they fell in with six armed Maltese vessels, by whom they were captured after a fierce and sanguinary engagement.

The prize which thus fell into the hands of the Maltese, and which was extremely valuable, was carried by them first to Candia, where they were supplied by the Venetian Governor with all they required in the way of provisions. The aid thus bestowed on the vessels by whom the Turkish ships had been captured, appeared to the Sultan to be an infraction of the peace then subsisting between him and the Republic; and although he resolved in the first instance to direct the weight of his vengeance against the Knights of Malta, he at the same time entertained the intention of making suitable preparations to punish the Venetians for the countenance they had given to his enemies.

The warlike arrangements now made throughout all the Turkish ports for invading Malta were soon known throughout Europe; and the Knights of St. John, anticipating the attack, repaired from every quarter of Europe to defend their order. The counsellors of the Divan, however, aware of the strength of the Maltese intrenchments, and remembering the unfortunate result of the siege of that island by the forces of

Sultan Solyman, resolved to direct their attack upon the island of Candia; and the Turkish fleet, after a year's temporising with the Venetian Republic, sailed for that island in May 1645, having on board seventy thousand men, including seven thousand Janizaries.

The island of Candia is the most important of all the Cyclades, being about one hundred and forty miles in length, and from fifteen to twenty in breadth. Its interior is mountainous and woody, and is intersected with valleys, the rich fertility of which is increased by the happy temperature of its climate. It once possessed a hundred cities, and was celebrated for those laws which the wisdom of Minos established. It is celebrated in classic mythology, as the place where, on Mount Ida, the highest mountain in the island, Jupiter was educated by the Corybantes, the priests of Cybele. Candia, when invaded by the Ottoman fleet, retained few traces of its ancient splendour—Canea and Retino being the only places worthy of the name of cities. On reaching the island the Ottoman forces invested Canea. During a siege of fifty-four days the garrison of the city offered a most desperate resistance to their invaders, and with consummate valour repulsed every attack. Finding themselves at length in want of ammunition, they were nevertheless obliged to capitulate, and the place was taken possession of. Retino fell, after a long and bloody resistance, the year following; and at length the capital and harbour of Crete was all that remained to the Republic of Venice in the Ægean Sea. During the progress of these events, the Venetians had equipped a fleet under Morosini in a manner worthy of the days of her greatest glory, and attacked the coasts of the Morea, seized on Patras, and blockaded the Dardanelles.

At the same time a large fleet was prepared by the Ottomans to convey reinforcements to complete the subjugation of Candia; and the Venetians, not able to withstand so powerful an armament, took refuge in their ports. The Republic was, however, more successful on the continent. The Venetian forces captured several places on the confines of Dalmatia, and besieged the important fortress of Clissa, and Foscolo, the

Venetian general, succeeded in compelling the garrison to surrender. At the same time, Zará and Spalatro were threatened by the army of the Sultan. It was at the latter place that the Emperor Dioclesian, after having abdicated his crown in May 304, retired to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, exhibiting, in thus voluntarily resigning his power, an example subsequently followed by the Emperor Charles V. of Germany. Spalatro, which was still distinguished by the remains of those magnificent buildings which Dioclesian had erected, was an object of ambition to the Sultan and his advisers, for its possession would have extended the Ottoman Empire to the Adriatic. The attack, however, was unsuccessful, and the Venetians warded off the blow which they would have received in the loss of so important a possession on the confines of their territory.

During the remaining period of the reign of Ibrahim, little worthy of note was accomplished. The Sultan, almost wholly withdrawn from public affairs, spent his whole time in luxurious ease, neglecting the important duties he had to discharge, and occupying himself in a perpetual course of the grossest sensuality and voluptuousness.

Indulging his vicious propensities, the Sultan inflicted an insult upon the Muftee which that Pontiff could not overlook. Having seized upon his daughter and retained her for a few days, he dismissed her to her parents with expressions of scorn. The Muftee became exasperated, and resolved upon the Sultan's downfall. Having planned an insurrection of the Janizaries, the gates of the seraglio were surrounded, and as a first step of the Muftee's revenge, the Grand Vizier was put to death. A fetva was issued against the Sultan, containing the following anathema, "That whoever obeyed not God's law, (the dictum of the Kur-án) was not a believer, and even were he the Emperor, he should suffer degradation." The consequence of this decree was immediate. The gates of the seraglio were assaulted by the Janizaries, and Ibrahim, convinced too late of his folly, was cast into prison, and after a few days, breathed his last in the hands of the executioners of the Muftee's wrath—thus A. D. 1648, suf-

fering the penalty of the sensuality and weakness by which his faculties had become overpowered.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the year which beheld the death of the Sultan Ibrahim by the hands of his own subjects, exhibited other and no less distinguished evidences of the instability of human power, and the vanity of human grandeur. In the east, the celebrated Aurungzebe dethroned his father the great Shah Jehan, and, defeating his brothers in succession, put them to death. And in the west, the amiable and excellent monarch Charles the First of England was tried and executed by his rebellious subjects.

CHAPTER XIX.

A. D. 1648—1676.

Accession of Mohammad IV.—Disputes between the Spahees and Janizaries—Ambitious designs of Sultana Kiosem—Sagacity of Siaus Pasha—Mohammad Kiuperli Grand Vizier—Siege of Çandia—Death of Kiuperli—Succeeded by his son Achmet Kiuperli—War with Hungary—Defeat of the Turkish army on the Raab by Montecuculi—Singular pretensions of a Jew to be Messiah—Completion of the conquest of Candia—War with Poland—Capture of Kaminietz, &c.—Cossacks of the Ukraine unite with Russia—Death of the celebrated Grand Vizier Achmet Kiuperli—His character.

AT the death of Ibrahim, his son and successor Mohammad IV., was only seven years of age. During the minority, therefore, the government was carried on by the Sultana with the aid of twelve Pashas, and almost the first measure resolved upon, was the continuance of the war with Venice, although it had been the intention of the late Sultan to terminate it, and arrangements had been actually made for that purpose with the Venetian ambassador.

While such measures were in contemplation, a serious quarrel arose in the army between the cavalry and the infantry, viz., the Spahees and the Janizaries. The former division of the forces conceived it to be their duty to revenge the death of the late Sultan, and for this purpose they demanded the head of the Grand Vizier, who had been instrumental in bringing about that event. The Janizaries, on the contrary, being conscious of having themselves carried on the conspiracy which resulted in the Sultan's dethronement, not only resolved to defend the Vizier, but acknowledged that all his acts had been performed by their instigation and authority.

The confusion thus occasioned in the imperial city itself had its influence in the provinces, where detachments of the same troops regarded each other with the bitterest rancour, and on more than one occasion broke out into open hostility. Other causes of disturbance were also in active operation. In Damascus, Syria, Anatolia, and other parts of the empire, the Pashas refused to pay the usual tribute, declaring, on account of the Sultan's tender age, they would retain the money in their own hands during his minority. The military and naval operations of the Porte were at the same time extremely unsuccessful, and everywhere the utmost uncertainty prevailed.

In the midst of these disastrous circumstances, the young Sultan was proclaimed, and his inauguration celebrated with the usual rejoicings. This event, however, was succeeded by the utmost discord within the walls of the seraglio, arising, on the one hand, from the ambition of Kiosem, the mother of the late Sultan, and on the other, from the apprehensions of the mother of the new sovereign, who, not without justice, suspected that Sultana Kiosem desired Prince Solyman to be preferred to Mohammad, since she would in that case be enabled to exercise authority uncontrolled by the mother of the reigning prince, Solyman's mother having died some time previously.

The Sultana, the mother of the young Sultan, in order to oppose the machinations of the ambitious Kiosem, who, as already observed, acted as regent of the empire, sought protection from the Spahees, as the best means of counteracting the force on which her adversary relied; and the Aga of the Janizaries perhaps unintentionally weakened the cause of Kiosem by the deposition of the Grand Vizier Mohammad, who was a friend of the Janizaries, and by procuring the appointment to that important office of Siaus Pasha, who was secretly the partizan of the Spahees, and therefore the supporter of the young Sultan and his mother.

The importance of the appointment of Siaus Pasha to the cause of the young Sultan became speedily apparent. The Aga of the Janizaries had resolved on superseding Mohammad by elevating Solyman to the throne—a measure which would

have placed the whole power of government in the hands of Kiosem, as well as in those of the Janizaries themselves. The Grand Vizier was summoned to attend a meeting of these turbulent soldiers, and although it was not usual for so high a dignitary to receive the commands of the Aga, Siaus Pasha had the sagacity and presence of mind to obey those commands, rather than raise that suspicion as to his views which would have been the consequence of his treating them with the contempt which they merited.

On proceeding to the place of meeting, the Grand Vizier found Bectas the Aga surrounded by the 'Ulama and all the officers of state, whose dread of the tremendous power of the Janizaries rendered them submissive to their demands. The subtle Vizier immediately agreed to the schemes proposed by the Aga, but soon after left the assembly to counteract them. On proceeding to the seraglio, he found, to his astonishment, that although it was night, the gates were open and the courts deserted, the manifest evidence of a treacherous design on the part of the Sultana Kiosem, for the admission of the rebellious soldiers. The Vizier instantly summoned the guards and domestics of the palace, armed them as well as the exigency of the moment admitted, closed the gates, and prepared to defend the infant sovereign from his enemies.

To insure his safety, however, it was requisite for the Vizier to take measures of the most energetic character, and to secure the person of the Sultana Kiosem. This was readily accomplished. The Sultana, who resided in the seraglio, was awaiting in her apartments the successful termination of her schemes, little expecting that the result of her machinations was so soon to be a violent death. By the orders of the Vizier, strengthened by a fetva from the Muftee, she was seized upon, carried into the gardens of the seraglio, and her ambitious projects terminated by the bow-string.

Having thus removed the principal instigator of the revolutionary movements of the Janizaries, the Vizier raised the standard of the Prophet. This politic step completely paralyzed the efforts of the insurgents, who felt bound to

rally round the sacred ensign, or lay themselves open to the charge of being unfaithful to their religion. A second step taken with equal skill and dexterity completed the conquest. A firman was instantly despatched to the encampment of the Janizaries, appointing the Aga Pasha of Bosnia, and superseding him in his command of the Janizaries by the appointment of Karu Pasha to that office. The Janizaries at once received with cordiality their new commander, and Bectas, whose authority was thus at one blow annihilated, was conducted to the seraglio by order of the Sultan, and strangled. The new Aga acted with equal promptitude. All those obnoxious to his views he ordered to be executed, and peace was in some degree restored. The elements of further strife were however by no means neutralized. The Spahees, who had resolved upon the extinction of the Janizaries, were exasperated against Siaus and his coadjutors for having deprived them of their prey, and, assembling in great numbers, they attacked and slaughtered all the Janizaries who came in their way; and, elated by success, they even assaulted the palaces of the Grand Vizier and chief Pashas, involving all who had offended them in destruction. Amid these frightful disorders the conduct of public affairs fell into the hands of the chief of the eunuchs, who, desirous of the appointment of a Vizier who could be controlled, fixed upon an individual whose insignificance had caused him to be hitherto overlooked, but whose great abilities soon rendered him illustrious.

This individual was the celebrated Mohammad Kiuperli, the son of a renegade, and understood to be of French extraction. His extraordinary talents enabled him to render the most important services to the state at this difficult and perilous juncture. With consummate skill he contrived to dispose of the Spahees by employing them in Asia, to reestablish the laws, and pursue those military enterprises which shed so much glory on the reign of Mohammad IV.

During the first years of his official life, Kiuperli had a series of tasks to perform which demanded the highest political and military skill. The siege of Candia had not been com-

pleted, and had become a tedious blockade. The Venetian fleet in 1653, under Moncenigo, had achieved a victory over the Ottoman fleet, which, from the defective administration of affairs, had become too weak to withstand the enemy, and in the succeeding year they were again defeated, on which occasion the Admiral or Capitan Pasha escaped with a few galleys into the Bosphorus, causing in Constantinople the utmost alarm. But amid all those disastrous and ominous circumstances, the skill and firmness of Kiuperli dispelled the terror of the citizens, by establishing with extraordinary exertion, and in a very short time, a powerful and effective fleet.

Having thus in some measure restored the means of further naval enterprises, the sagacious Vizier directed his efforts to the important object of employing the army, which it was dangerous to permit to remain idle. The rebellion of Ragotski, the Waywode of Transylvania, afforded him a sufficient means by which to accomplish this object, and arrangements were made for the prosecution of the war. The young Sultan, from whose memory the terrible scenes which in his infancy he had witnessed were never effaced, adopted with confidence the proposals of his sagacious minister, and gladly quitted his capital for a season to enjoy the recreation of hunting in the fine plains of Hadrianople, leaving the Vizier to rule the capital in his absence, and to make the preparations for the Hungarian campaign. The Grand Vizier, however, had now attained the advanced age of eighty-six; and, while his arrangements were in progress, death terminated the career of this able statesman. Sensible of his great worth, and deploring his approaching loss, the young Sultan hastened to visit his venerable counsellor, and requested him, as a last token of his affection, to nominate his successor. Acceding to the request, Kiuperli proposed his own son Achmet, whose subsequent services amply attested the wisdom of the choice. Among many sage counsels which the venerable politician gave to his young master the Sultan, there were three maxims on which he laid great stress, and which he solemnly besought him to observe with undeviating precision.

1. Never to give ear to the counsels or advice of women. 2. To amass all the treasure he possibly could, even although he should oppress and impoverish his people. 3. To be continually on horseback, and to keep his armies in constant action.

The first of these maxims, Kiuperli may have thought it necessary to enforce from the long experience he had of the manifold evils caused by the ambitious interference of the Sultana Kiosem in state affairs; but our readers who appreciate the value and importance of those wise counsels which often proceed from the cultivated talents of the female sex, rendered acute by the tender affection and solicitude peculiar to the female character, will scarcely fail to suspect that the sage adviser of Sultan Mohammad IV. had derived the maxim which he enforced upon his royal auditor's attention, from the disparaging views which Mohammadanism establishes as to the female intellect. According to "the Prophet," women are not only distinguished by greater general depravity than men, but are extremely deficient in judgment and good sense. Omar, whose precepts are sacred in the opinions of the Turks, called on his followers to consult women when in difficulty, but to do the contrary of what they advise. "It is desirable for a man," says a learned Imám, "before he enters upon any important undertaking, to consult ten intelligent persons among his particular friends, or if he have not more than five such friends, let him consult each of them twice, or if he have not more than one friend, he should consult him ten times at ten different visits, if he have not one friend, let him return to his wife and consult her, and whatever she advises him to do let him do the contrary, so shall he proceed rightly in his affair, and attain his object."

But to proceed. Achmet Kiuperli having thus succeeded to his father's office, A.D. 1661, carried on the government with the utmost energy, commencing his labours by the death of several Pashas and the deposition of the Muftee. He found abundant employment in the distracted condition of some of the provinces in Asia, the insubordination of the powerful Pasha of Baghdad, and in the perplexing and injurious con-

sequences arising from the bitter hatred which the Sultana, the mother of Mohammad IV., had conceived against him, and which all his endeavours were insufficient to allay.

But his attention was principally directed to the carrying out of those military enterprises which had hitherto been suffered to languish. Ragotski had incurred the displeasure of the Ottoman Porte, by forming an alliance with the Swedes against the Polish nation—this being an act of disobedience, the Sultan's vassals being pledged not to enter into any arrangements with Christian powers without the Sultan's authority. Ragotski, however, having engaged and defeated a superior force, was severely wounded, and soon after died; and Leopold, knowing how many serious dangers to his states in Hungary might arise if a partisan of the Turks should be chosen, appointed Kemini to be the Waywode, while Michael Abaffi was intrusted with the important situation by the Porte. These competing interests could be adjusted only by the sword.

Early in 1663, the Grand Vizier, having made the utmost preparations for the purpose, prepared to march towards Germany. A governor or Kaimakim in his absence was appointed for Constantinople. Eighty pieces of cannon, many of them of great calibre, were brought from Scutari and from the seraglio, and transported by the Danube to Belgrade, while the princes of Wallachia and Moldavia were commanded to provide the requisite provision for the army; and a general proclamation was issued requiring all soldiers to repair to the Sultan's standard. All the requisite preparations being completed, the Ottoman army set forth from Constantinople in the middle of the month of March, the force being made up of an army drawn not only from the European provinces of the empire, but from Aleppo and Damascus, and even from Arabia and Erzeroum, amounting to eighty thousand men, with an equal number of pioneers, supplied with everything requisite for the attack of fortified places, and for the general success of the campaign.

This immense force soon found its way into Hungary, and laid siege to Neuhausel, which, after a gallant defence, was

forced to capitulate, and several other important places were taken by assault. The Sultan's army, however, met with a vigorous adversary, in the celebrated Count Raymond Montecuculi, who had been appointed by the diet of Ratisbon in 1663 to command the imperial army in the Hungarian frontiers for the protection of Raab, Comorn, and Neuhausel.

This skilful general, by planting his army on Raab, protected Austria and Styria, when the Grand Vizier, impatient at the interruption, ordered his forces to pass the Raab. A portion of the Turkish force amounting to about fifteen thousand men, having been permitted to ford the river, were attacked by the imperial army, and cut to pieces or driven into the stream, when by a sudden rise of the waters of the Raab, their companions on the opposite shore were unable to afford them aid. During the conflict the Janizaries and Spahees struggled to gain the opposite side, and to assist their companions, by swimming over the river; and thus the engagement was prolonged from morning till late in the afternoon, so that the total loss of the Turks amounted to seventeen thousand men and sixteen pieces of cannon. The rejoicings which this victory occasioned in Vienna it is impossible to describe. The fame of Montecuculi was made the theme of every tongue. His praises were chaunted through the streets in ballads composed for the occasion, and he obtained the most substantial rewards for his service, as well as the important appointment of lieutenant-general of the whole army. A treaty of peace was concluded soon after between the Sultan and the Emperor, both of whom were equally desirous to terminate the campaign, among the articles of which was the cession to the Ottoman Empire of Varadin and Neuhausel, which had already fallen into their hands.

This result was favourable to the Sultan, and Kiuperli having returned to Hadrianople in triumph, was graciously received, and richly rewarded by his master, who presented him with a residence in that city. Candia being still under siege, he now turned his attention to that quarter, and was preparing to terminate the siege by vigorous measures, when a new and unexpected incident occurred to interrupt him. A

Jew named Sabatei Sevi had in 1666 at Gaza announced himself to his countrymen as their long expected Messiah; and he, making use of the mystic number of the year in evidence of his pretensions, a large number of disciples gathered around him; while an accomplice appeared at Jerusalem as the prophet Elias, in testimony of Sabatei being really the Messiah. So great became the influence of these fanatics, and so large the number of their adherents, that they were enabled to denounce as impious the farther payment of taxes to the government, predicting, at the same time, that before a year should elapse Mohammad IV. would be dethroned. These disorders were with great sagacity repressed by Kiuperli, and without bloodshed. By flattering the vanity of Sabatei, he induced him to come to Constantinople, assuring him that the Emperor would speedily become a convert to his views. When Sabatei arrived in Europe, the Sultan was at Hadrianople, and the impostor proceeded thither with extraordinary pomp. His progress resembled a triumphal procession—crowds of people prostrating themselves, and strewing garlands and flowers as he proceeded on his way. On his arrival he was led into the royal presence, when, although his confidence failed him, he still persisted in his divine mission. Mohammad, however, desired he would perform some miracle to establish his claim. This he could not refuse, and the test to be adopted speedily terminated his pretensions. Carried into the plain in the vicinity of the city, he was stripped in the presence of the people, and tied to a column, and as he declared he was invulnerable, the archers, with their arrows on the string, were ready, at a signal to be given, to pierce him to the heart. Struck with terror by these dreadful preparations, the unhappy man confessed the vanity of his pretensions, and declared that he had imposed upon public incredulity. He was then informed that he must either embrace Mohammadanism, or be impaled as an impostor. He chose the former alternative; and thus the dangerous excitement which he had been able to originate was brought to a termination, although it is said there were not wanting those among the Jews who continued to believe in his mission.

Achmet Kiuperli was now left at liberty to press forward his arrangements for completing the conquest of Candia. In the spring of 1667 he landed a force of a hundred thousand men upon the devoted island, and immediately invested the fortress of Candia. The Venetian garrison had already been largely reinforced. The fortifications of the city had been strengthened with all the skill that military engineering could bring into operation, and everything tended to prove that the contest must be of the most severe and sanguinary kind. To describe the operations of the siege, the skill and valour of the defence, the activity of the besiegers, and the acts of individual heroism by which it was distinguished, would be impossible within ordinary limits. The entire power of the Ottoman empire collected against the city; and all the resources of art and valour were displayed by its defenders to avert its fall. The Turks often sacrificed a hundred of their soldiers to succeed in slaughtering one Christian of their adversaries; but their courage, perseverance, and fanaticism, sustained them in the protracted conflict, although they had never struggled with greater difficulties. "The fortifications appeared day by day to arise from their ruins, notwithstanding that the artillery of the besieged caused a terrible havoc; bombs, petards, and mines, were put in use for the defence; frequently the besiegers, throwing down their arms in despair, refused to advance any more to the fatal breach, although urged by promises, menaces, and wounds. The natural situation of the place was particularly strong, and, during the twenty-nine months of active siege, a perpetual concourse of French and Italian volunteers had succeeded each other; for the Christian soldier, emulous of glory, hasted to the glorious contest of Candia; and so obstinate was the attack and the defence, that it may be truly said there was not one foot of ground which was not moistened with the blood of the combatants. If a wall fell by the fire of the batteries, another wall was seen forthwith to grow up within side of its ruins; indeed, so many obstacles and losses would have deterred the besiegers, but that they were led by Kiuperli, and possessed the physical stubborn obstinacy which marks their national character."

Some idea of the character of the conflict may be obtained, when it is remembered that in this memorable siege the Venetians lost above thirty thousand men, and the Turks more than a hundred and twenty thousand; the ill-fated city sustained fifty-six assaults, and the havoc of four hundred and sixty mines, to which must be added, the counter-mines of the besieged. After the siege had lasted nearly two years and four months, the city became no longer tenable, and a treaty of peace being concluded between the Ottoman Empire and the Republic of Venice, in September 1669, the city and island of Candia became the property of the Sultan, and the Grand Vizier Kiuperli, who had conducted the operations, and brought them to a close, obtained a large addition to the renown which by his military genius he had already acquired.

After the capture of Candia, the active and politic Grand Vizier Kiuperli directed his energies to a new and highly important enterprise. The Cossacks, desirous of freedom from Polish authority, had voluntarily become subject to the Ottoman Empire, and sent their Hetman or prince to claim his investiture as a vassal of Mohammad IV. The consequence of this step was immediate. The Poles, who considered themselves as the natural superiors of this people, resented their conduct by laying waste their country, which is comprehended by that vast tract lying between the rivers Dniester and Dnieper. The possession of these new frontiers, which formed an important barrier for the Turkish Empire, was eagerly desired by the Ottoman Porte; and in order to secure the advantage already gained, Achmet Kiuperli made preparations for the attack of Podolia, with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand men. The Sultan commanded his forces in person; and, having passed the Danube near Galatz, in Moldavia, reduced the fortress of Kaminietz, after a siege of eleven days, and thus obtained an undisputed entrance into Podolia. This fortress, however, was not gained without severe loss, in addition to that sustained during the siege; for a German officer, disgusted at the terms of its capitulation, set fire to the powder magazine, and four thousand Janizaries, along with the citadel, were blown into the air.

Other important places fell into the hands of the Sultan, and in six weeks the whole of Podolia was at his command. The Tartars, meeting with no opposition, plundered the country, and carried off above eighty thousand of its inhabitants as slaves; but they were waylaid in their retreat by Sobieski, who attacked them and recaptured a great part of their booty. The King of Poland, however, was unable to turn this advantage to any great account, and concluded a treaty by which the Sultan became possessor of Podolia, and the Cossacks obtained the district of the Ukraine. The King of Poland further agreed to make payment of twenty-two thousand crowns as yearly tribute. The Poles, however, rather than submit to such degrading conditions, were determined to suffer to the utmost. An army, comprising the whole force of the kingdom, was raised, Sobieski was entrusted with the command, and the Sultan became aware that he had made a treaty which was destitute of authority over the warlike people against whom he fought. Mohammad's rage and disappointment knew no bounds, and, reassembling his forces which had been partly reduced, he crossed the Danube, and resolved to exact a terrible retribution. The hostile armies met between the Dneister and the Danube, and in a battle which lasted for eight hours, the Ottoman forces were defeated.

It was at this critical period, A.D. 1673, that the King of Poland died, and Sobieski found his plans frustrated by an event which rendered necessary his own presence, and that of his army, at the approaching election of a Polish sovereign at Warsaw; for, during his absence, Mohammad, with the advice of Kiuperli, recovered the greater part of Podolia, and, to secure his conquest, transported the most of the inhabitants beyond the Danube, and replaced them by two thousand families of Spahees.

The capture of the city and fortress of Kaminietz, already referred to, was the origin of an arrangement which, ever since the period when it was made, has exercised no slight influence upon the affairs of Turkey. It appears that, after the fall of that place, the Hetman of the Ukraine Cossacks

presented himself, with four thousand adherents, and offered his services to Mohammad. The Sultan, however, irritated at the defection of his vassals the Waywodes, and having little faith in the auxiliaries who now offered their allegiance, rejected their suit, and even treated their Hetman with contempt. This imprudent conduct was too much for the proud and warlike Cossacks, and they immediately offered their services to Russia, which being eagerly accepted by the Czar, the Cossacks became a portion of the Muscovite Empire, and to the present day have rendered important services in advancing the interests, and aiding the encroachments of the Russian Emperor.

These events were followed by the death of the celebrated Achmet-Kiuperli, who had conferred the utmost benefits on Turkey. This statesman possessed talents of a very high order, together with a considerable share of learning, great acuteness and sagacity, and almost every quality capable of rendering him valuable to the state. If we consider the early age at which he was promoted to his high office, the enemies which his father's severity had bequeathed to him, the dangers to which he was exposed by the enmity of the Sultana, and his skill in evading it, the success with which he contrived to gain the confidence of the greatest personages in the state, as well as to retain undiminished the affection of the Sultan; if we remember how seldom capital punishments took place during his administration, as well as the care with which the articles of every capitulation were observed, it is impossible not to concede to him a very high character among the ablest statesmen of any nation in Europe. The greatest praises were lavished on his memory by the Turks. He was regarded as "the light and splendour of the nations; the conservator and guardian of good laws; the vicar of the shadow of God; the thrice-learned and all-accomplished." Unquestionably he was the greatest of all the prime ministers of the Ottoman Porte.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1676—1683.

Condition of Hungary—Defeat of conspiracy against the Austrian government—Severe measures of the Emperor—Emeric Tököli—Violation of the treaty of 1674 by the Sultan—Grand Vizier Mustafa marches to Vienna—Leopold deserts the city—The siege—The destruction of Perchtoldsdorf—Sketch of the proceedings of the siege—Incidents and anecdotes—Distress of the city—Gallantry of the defence—The Duke of Lorraine and Sobieski lead the imperial army—The defeat and confusion of the Ottoman forces—The siege raised—Description of the camp of the Grand Vizier.

IT has been already stated that the defeat of the Turkish army on the banks of the Raab by the celebrated Count Raymond Montecuculi in 1664, was soon followed by an armistice between the forces of the Emperor Leopold, and those of Mohammad IV. This arrangement was to continue for the period of twenty years. But circumstances caused its infraction before the period at which it was to be concluded. Of these circumstances a brief view is desirable before reference is made to the important incidents of history now about to be described.

At the period when Montecuculi was appointed to defend the Hungarian frontiers, the measures of the Austrian government had occasioned the utmost dissatisfaction throughout the country. The extirpation of Protestantism, together with the destruction of the constitution and the nationality of Hungary, were beyond question the object to which the Emperor of Germany was urged by his advisers, and especially by Grantonville, the ambassador of Louis XIV.

The persecution to which the Hungarians were thus ex-

posed, and the lamentable excesses perpetrated by the German troops, produced consequences which it was by no means difficult to foresee. The Hungarians naturally looked around them for some power capable of supporting them against a monarch who treated them with a degree of severity which could scarcely be exceeded even by the army of an invader. Even the most zealous Protestants felt that, so far from losing, they would gain by the restoration of the Mohammadan rule; and so widely spread was the feeling of dissatisfaction that, so far from being confined to the Protestant part of the population, it was alike participated in by the members of the Roman Church. A dangerous conspiracy was the inevitable consequence, the promoters of which were persons of the highest rank, who resolved to apply to the Sultan for his aid against the Emperor, to raise an army among their dependents, to furnish a naval force in the Adriatic, and to gain over to their cause the Greek population in Croatia—in a word, to shake off their connection with Germany.

At the moment when this conspiracy, fraught with imminent peril to the Austrian government, was about to be acted upon, it was accidentally discovered. The governor of Styria, Count Tettenbach, who had joined in it, had imprisoned for theft one of his servants who was cognisant of the plot. This man was, in the ordinary course of law, put to the torture, when he confessed all he knew. Tettenbach was at this period absent from the seat of his government, but those who acted as his substitutes lost no time in transmitting to Vienna the important intelligence of which they had thus accidentally become the depositaries. Tettenbach was arrested. His papers, and six thousand stand of arms concealed in his cellars, confirmed the suspicion of his participation in the plot. Others of the conspirators were also seized. Nadaski, whose vast wealth entitled him to the name of the Hungarian Crœsus, was, after being solemnly degraded, beheaded in Vienna, and his property confiscated, part of which, amounting to five millions, was found in his treasury at Pottendorf. Stephen Tököli was besieged in his fortress, and died during the attack; and Frangipani, Zriny, the grandson of

the famous defender of Szigeth, and Tettenbach, were also put to death.

The discovery of this conspiracy, and the destruction of its chief promoters, did not satisfy the Austrian government. On the contrary, the kingdom of Hungary at large was subjected to the severest treatment. Resistance and civil war were the inevitable consequences; and the bitterest strife and hatred, resulting in innumerable cases in bloodshed, sprang up between those who were partizans of the Emperor and those who advocated the interests of their native country.

At this juncture the cause of the Hungarians was strengthened by the appearance of a leader whose name afterwards became famous in the annals of his country. When Stephen Tököli died, as already mentioned, during the siege of his castle by the imperial troops, although his daughters were dragged forth and thrown into prison in Vienna, his son Emeric, having contrived to escape, made his way into Transylvania, and, having joined the Turks, became an active opponent of Austria, and a successful promoter of every design hostile to her authority and power in Hungary. Tököli possessed great military talents, great acuteness and sagacity, and considerable literary acquirements. He was, moreover, a devoted advocate of liberty and the cause of Protestantism. Being appointed commander-in-chief, he soon justified the expectations of his countrymen. With a small but determined army he defeated the imperialists in several engagements, and driving them from Upper Hungary, penetrated to Presburg, Neustadt, and even into Moravia. The indomitable energy of Tököli, and the success attending his arms, compelled Leopold to adopt some measures likely to bring about a pacification; and in 1681 a diet was for that purpose held at Presburg, and subsequently, in consequence of the plague, at Œdenburg, and attended by the Emperor in person. Various important measures were adopted on the occasion, which, at an earlier period, might have produced the best consequences in reconciling the contending parties. Paul Esterhazy was appointed palatine; old privileges and institutions were revived; the license of arbitrary taxation restrained; a general amnesty

granted, and religious liberty allowed to those who embraced the Augsburg form of Protestantism.

These arrangements, however, came too late to produce an immediate reconciliation. The Austrian deputies indicated a tendency to revenge, while the Hungarians looked on the concessions made as nothing more than what they had a right to demand; while Tököli was unable to forget the sufferings to which he and his family had been exposed by Austria, or to lay aside certain ambitious projects with which he was evidently animated.

It was at length arranged that an ambassador should proceed to Constantinople, to obtain a prolongation of the truce which had been made in 1664, and which was now approaching its termination. The ambassador speedily discovered the impossibility of accomplishing the object of his mission. The Grand Vizier Mustafa, who had succeeded the celebrated Kiuperli, his own kinsman, was at the head of a party eager to take advantage of the state of matters in Hungary, and the demands of the Sultan were such as could not be conceded, and extinguished all hope of an accommodation.

Tököli, intent upon his objects, had concluded, meantime, a treaty with the Sublime Porte, which, besides his recognition as Prince of Upper Hungary, contained other articles highly advantageous to his country. But the connection thus formed was used by the Emperor, as well as by his other opponents, as the means of representing the Hungarian leader as an enemy of Christianity, and in alienating a portion of his followers.

These difficulties, however, were such as the genius of Tököli knew how to overcome, and the success with which his earliest efforts had been accompanied still continued, and incited the Turks to hasten their arrangements for the Hungarian campaign; so that in the autumn of 1682, the Ottoman army was put in motion towards the Hungarian frontiers. The Sultan Mohammad accompanied his forces as far as Belgrade, and, after receiving the ambassadors of Tököli, returned to Constantinople, and left his Grand Vizier to carry on the war.

The Ottoman army having advanced as far as Essek, a council of war was held, attended by a large number of the nobility of Hungary, and by Tököli himself. The principal subject of discussion was the suitableness of the siege of Vienna. Most of the council were opposed to this measure. Tököli in particular, on being called on to declare his sentiments, urged upon the Grand Vizier the absolute necessity of expelling the Austrians from Hungary before advancing to the siege of Vienna.

The Grand Vizier, however, was not convinced by the reasoning of his opponents in the council, and although he kept his determination a profound secret, and proceeded to the reduction of some of the minor fortresses in his way, he had resolved to attack Vienna, and having matured his plans, he displayed to his various officers the Sultan's hatti-scherif, investing him with full authority and unlimited command during the war, and issued orders for the advance of the army to the imperial city.

The Ottoman army was preceded in its march by hordes of ferocious Tartars, who reduced to desolation the frontiers of Austria, Bohemia, and Moravia, slaughtering the population without respect to age or sex, and reducing to ashes the villages and towns which were so unfortunate as to be in their way. No place was sufficiently retired to escape the ravages of these sanguinary and ruthless barbarians. They penetrated alike into the most secluded places of the forests, and the most obscure retreats of the valleys, led thither by bloodhounds, which they employed to trace the steps of those who fled at their approach.

The advance of the Ottoman forces to Vienna was the signal for the flight of a great number of its wealthy inhabitants. Among the first to desert the city was the Emperor Leopold himself, who, having little military skill, and no great taste for the horrors of a protracted siege, adopted the prudent course of removing himself and his court to a sufficient distance from the scene of danger. But before he had decided on this step, events had left him little time to lose; and it had become matter of serious deliberation which road

he should take to avoid the risk of falling into the hands of the Tartar cavalry. The direct road to Lintz was considered by his council no longer free from this danger, and it was determined that he should make his way thither by the left bank of the Danube.

The route thus chosen was the only one which promised any degree of safety to the imperial fugitives, who, not without the imminent risk of having fallen into the hands of the Tartars, arrived at Lintz. That fortress, however, was not deemed sufficiently secure, and Leopold continued his discreditable flight into Bavaria. The Emperor's example of quitting Vienna was speedily followed by a vast number of the wealthy classes, who, by their cowardly desertion, added greatly to the alarm felt by those who were left behind.

The number of those who thus quitted the city amounted to nearly sixty thousand, of whom a large proportion, whose means of conveyance failed them on the way, and all those who took the road toward Styria, fell into the hands of the enemy. The bloodhounds of the Tartars traced and hunted down those who fled to the woods.

This large emigration greatly reduced the number of citizens capable of bearing arms. The courage, however, of this remnant was somewhat restored a few days after, by the appearance of the cavalry, who filed through the city with much military display. This substantial contradiction of the rumour previously circulated of the total destruction of the imperial army, was well calculated to produce a reaction on the public mind; but a still happier impression was made by the arrival on the same day of Count Stahremberg, to whom, on the score of his successful defence of Moravia against the incursions of Tököli, the Emperor now confided the command and defence of the city. He lost no time in setting all hands to work on the fortifications; but at first little more could be done than to complete the fixing of the palisades, for the scarcely credible fact is on record that the necessary works for the main defence of the city could not be prosecuted for want of the common and essential tools. The annals of the city are silent as to the parties responsible for

this monstrous neglect; but it is certain that if the Turks had not lingered before Raab, or if by greater expedition on the march they had arrived before Vienna a few hours sooner than they did, that city must have fallen without a blow, and with all its treasures, into the hands of the destroyer. It was not till the following day after Stahremberg's arrival that, by the unwearied exertions of the imperial chancellor, the contents of the secret archives and the treasury were conveyed away by the Danube under circumstances of imminent peril. The population of all classes, the richest citizens, and even women and ecclesiastics, now laboured unremittingly at the fortifications. The burgomaster, Von Liebenberg, set the example, doing active service with a wheelbarrow. The wood stored for building or fuel without the walls was conveyed into the town; every householder was enjoined to have water ready on his roof, and all persons whose usual employment would be in abeyance during the siege, were armed and taken into the regular service of the state. They formed a body of twelve hundred men. The most important works were completed with incredible labour in the course of a few days, and almost in the sight of the Ottoman army, which had crossed the Austrian frontier at Altenburg, destroying everything as they advanced, and indicating their approach by the contracting circle of blazing villages. From the Hungarian frontier to the neighbourhood of the Kahlenberg, every unfortified place bore lurid token of Turkish occupation—Baden, Mödling, Ebenfurt, Inzersdorf, Pellendorf, Laxenburg, and Laa. Neustadt alone held out by the strength of its walls and the gallantry of its defenders.

At sunrise of the 14th July 1683, the main force of the enemy showed itself on the heights of the Wienerberg. It was difficult for the most practised eye to distinguish particular objects from amidst the multitudinous crowd of men, horses, camels, and carriages. The mass extended itself from the Lauer wood to near the Hundsthurm, by Gumpendorf, Penzing, Ottakrin, Hernals, Währing and Döbling, towards Nussdorf and the Danube, in a circuit of some twenty-five thousand paces. The camp was marked out in the form of

a half-moon. In a few hours twenty-five thousand tents had risen from the ground. That of the Vizier was pitched on the high ground in the present suburb of St. Ulric, behind the walls of the houses which had been burned. It rivalled in beauty and splendour of decoration Solyman's famous pavilion of 1529, being of green silk worked with gold and silver, and adorned within with pearls, precious stones, and carpets, and containing in a central sanctuary the sacred standard of the Prophet. Within its precincts were baths, fountains, and flower-gardens, and even a menagerie. In respect of its numerous alleys and compartments, it was likened to a town of canvas. The value of it, with its contents, was estimated at a million dollars. Under St. Ulric, towards the Burg gate, the Aga of the Janizaries had arrayed his forces: the precincts of St. Ulric itself were occupied by the Tartars under Kara Mohammad. The other Pashas were stationed opposite the Karnthner and Stuben gates, and the city was threatened from five distinct quarters, though it was soon easy to perceive that the main attack would be directed against the Burg and the Löbelbastion. The first care of the Turks was to plunder and destroy the few buildings which had escaped destruction in the suburbs.

The church of the Servites in the Rossau was the only edifice that escaped. Its distance from the town had preserved it from the general destruction to which the defenders of the city consigned all the buildings in its immediate vicinity, and it was probably spared by the Ottoman troops on account of the paintings on its ceiling, representing the Hebrew patriarchs, who are objects of reverence to the Mohammadans.

When the investment of Vienna by the Turkish army had been completed, the Grand Vizier's next care was to destroy or secure such strongholds within a certain distance of the city, as had not hitherto fallen into his hands. The following narrative of the destruction of one of these fortified places will afford an illustration of the horrors to which the inhabitants were exposed by this inroad of the Ottoman armies.

"A strong detachment was directed at sunrise of the 14th upon Perchtoldsdorf, which began to throw incendiary missiles

into the place, and speedily set fire to it in various quarters. Some citizens ventured upon a daring sally, but the small body, not more than thirty in number, were cut down to a man. The overwhelming superiority of the enemy's numbers, and the failure of their own ammunition, compelled the inhabitants entirely to abandon the town and to betake themselves to their fortified church and its precincts. The town was given to the flames, which raged from 2 P.M. through the following night, which was passed by the little garrison in the contemplation of this dismal scene, and in the expectation of an attack at sunrise, which they had no hope of being able to repel. The Turks, however, preferred craft and perfidy to force, and contented themselves with a blockade of the stronghold, which was moreover rendered scarcely tenable by the heat and smoke of the burning houses adjacent. This state of things lasted till the afternoon, when a horseman rode up the main street, dressed in the doublet of a German Reiter, but otherwise in Turkish attire, and bearing a flag of truce, which he waved towards the church, and in the Hungarian language summoned the citizens to surrender, distinctly promising them security of life and property on condition of an immediate submission. Such terms, under the circumstances, were far too favourable to be refused. A man and a woman who spoke Hungarian made known their acceptance to the envoy, and a white flag was hung out from the tower in token of surrender. On the morning of the 17th a Pasha with a strong attendance arrived from the camp, and seating himself on a red carpet near the house of the bailiff, opposite the church, announced through an interpreter the following conditions to the besieged. First, two citizens were to come out to the Turks, and two of the latter to be admitted into the fortress; secondly, as a symbol that the place had not before been yielded to an enemy, the keys were to be delivered to the Pasha by a maiden with loosened hair and a garland on her head; thirdly, a contribution of six thousand florins was to be levied on the inhabitants. This latter demand appears to have protracted the negociation for some hours, but finally half the sum demanded was paid into the Pasha's

hands, and the remainder was promised for the 29th August, the day of St. John the Baptist. These terms arranged, the citizens left their stronghold, the daughter of the bailiff, a girl of seventeen years, at their head, arrayed according to the fanciful conditions above stated. She bore the keys of the place on a cushion, and presented them trembling to the Pasha, who now required that the whole body of men capable of bearing arms should be drawn up in the market-place, for the purpose, as he pretended, of judging what number of troops might be required for the preservation of order in the town. This requisition excited some misgiving among the townsmen, but there was no retreat, and they prepared to carry it into effect. As they issued from their stronghold, bodies of Turkish troops closed about them and took from them their weapons, observing that men who had surrendered had no longer use for such. Some who hesitated to deliver them were deprived of them by force, and others who, from apprehension, paused in the gateway, were dragged out by the hair. The Turks loaded some carriages in attendance with the arms, and conveyed them away. The men, some two thousand in number, were drawn up in ranks in the place opposite the priest's house, and surrounded with cavalry. At a signal from the Pasha, a troop of the latter dismounted and commenced a diligent search of the persons of the prisoners for money or concealed weapons. The entrance gate was at the same time strongly guarded. Some of the townsmen taking alarm at these proceedings, with the bailiff at their head, endeavoured to regain the church. The Turks pursued them with drawn sabres, and the bailiff was cut down on the threshold. The Pasha now rose, flung down the table before him, and gave the signal for a general massacre, setting the example with his own hand by cutting down the trembling girl at his side. The slaughter raged for two hours without intermission, three thousand five hundred persons were put to the sword in the strictest sense of the word, and in a space so confined that the expression, "torrents of blood," so often a figure of speech, was fully applicable to this case. The women and children, who still remained in

the asylum of the church, together with the priest and his coadjutor, were dragged into slavery and never heard of more. A local tradition avers that one solitary individual returned after a lapse of fifteen years, but as from maltreatment he had lost speech and hearing, he was unable to communicate the story of his escape. Another prevalent report, that two townsmen escaped by concealment in the roof of the church, is less probable, because the Turks immediately set fire to that building. It is certain, however, that three persons did escape, but in a different manner. One of them, Hans Schimmer by name, a tailor's apprentice and an ancestor of the writer of this narrative, wisely fled before the catastrophe to Maria Zell; another, Jacob Holzer, is supposed to have escaped in the first confusion; the third, Balthazar Frank, it is said, hid himself till nightfall in the well of the tower, and then found means to abscond. This last story, however, is less well authenticated than the two former. From the number of the slaughtered, it is evident that many of the inhabitants of the places adjacent had taken refuge in this devoted town, for the ordinary male population never reached that number, and those who were carried off as slaves are also to be counted. It is probable that among the victims were people of condition, for in the course of some excavations which lately took place in the mound of their sepulture, some rings of value, enamelled, and even set with precious stones, were discovered."*

The siege of Vienna having been formed, and before the first discharge of artillery took place, the Grand Vizier despatched two of the Spahees with the following letter in Latin and in Turkish, which was thrown into the counterscarp: —"To you, generals, governors, and noble citizens of Vienna, we make known by these presents, according to the orders we have received from the most Serene, most Mighty, most Redoubted, and the Mightiest Emperor of the universe, our Master, the true image of God upon earth, who, by the grace of the Most High, in imitation of our holy Prophet Mahomet Mustapha, to whom be honour, glory, and benediction, hath

* From Ellesmere's "Two sieges of Vienna."

rendered himself, by the multitude of his miracles, the greatest of all the sovereigns of one and the other world, and most august of Emperors, who, having caused our innumerable armies, protected always by divine Providence, to come hither, we are resolved to take Vienna, and establish there the cult of our divine religion; 'tis, therefore, that before we draw our fatal cymitars, as our chief end is the propagation of the Mussulman faith, and that is expressly commanded us by the laws of our holy Prophet, first and before all things, to exhort you to embrace our holy religion, we do hereby advertise you, that if you will cause yourselves to be instructed in our mysteries, you will find the salvation of your souls therein. If you will deliver up your city without fighting, whether you are young, or more advanced in years, rich or poor, we assure you that you may all live there peaceably. If any desire to quit the place, and go live elsewhere, no harm shall be done him in his person or goods, and he shall be conducted with his family and children whither he pleases. For such as will rather stay, they shall live in the city as they did before. But if you suffer us by your obstinacy to take the city by force, we shall then spare nobody. And we swear by the Creator of heaven and earth, who neither hath, nor never will have his equal, that we shall put all to the sword, as is ordained by our law. Your goods will be pillaged, and your wives and children will be carried away slaves. We shall pardon only such who shall obey divine orders.—Given at the Emperor's camp before Vienna, the 8th of the moon Regeb, in the year of the transmigration of the Prophet 1094." This communication, however, produced no effect; and the siege proceeded.

It is impossible, within the limits to which this historical survey is necessarily restricted, to furnish a minute account of this celebrated event. A few of the leading particulars, however, it is requisite to relate.

The siege of Vienna may be said to have commenced on the 15th of July 1683; and that day was rendered remarkable by an accident which might well have brought that operation to a close by the destruction of the city. Some time after the

Turkish batteries had opened, a fire broke out in the Scottish Convent, and subsequently spread to the neighbourhood of the arsenal, which contained nearly two thousand barrels of powder. The exertions, however, of the citizens were proportionate to the danger. The windows of the arsenal were built up with great haste, and under a degree of heat which rendered the operation almost impossible. A propitious change of wind assisted the final extinction of the flames, but several palaces and other extensive buildings were completely destroyed. At a period of so much excitement, it was scarcely possible that the public would be satisfied to ascribe this conflagration to any of the many accidents which may occasion such a casualty in a besieged town. Suspicion fell upon the Hungarians; and many acts of cruelty were the result. Persons wearing the Hungarian dress were massacred in the streets; others fell victims to the spirit of frenzied cruelty to which panic frequently gives birth, and among the rest, a poor half-witted creature, who chose in his folly to discharge a pistol in the direction of the fire, was seized by the populace and torn to pieces. From this period the cannonade of the Turkish batteries was sustained without interruption; and it has been calculated that during the siege upwards of one hundred thousand shells were thrown into the city. It is remarkable, however, how small the damage was which this terrible attack produced. The buildings of Vienna were of very solid construction, and all the usual precautions against fire had been resorted to. The accounts which are given of the transaction have, however, recorded several instances of the inefficiency of the Ottoman ordnance. One of the first shells which fell in the city is said to have been extinguished by a child of three years old before it could burst; another, which fell into a crowded congregation at St. Stephens, merely injured the foot of an old woman; another fell upon an open barrel of powder, without doing any harm. The contrivances of the besiegers for incendiary purposes, such as fireballs and arrows wrapped with combustibles, proved no less ineffective. To provide against this particular danger, the wooden shingles with which the houses were generally roofed were removed.

All the wells were placed under strict superintendence, and every precaution adopted for the extinction of fire.

After the siege had lasted for a month, the inevitable consequences of so close an investment of the city began to appear in the shape of famine and scarcity. Dysentery and other forms of disease resulted from the continual use of herrings, salt meat, ill-brewed beer, and the accumulation of impurities in the city. These evils, however, yielded to the judicious and active management of the authorities, who enforced sanitary regulations, and took care as to the strict supervision of the supplies furnished by the brewers and bakers.

While Vienna was thus nobly holding out against the immense force by which her walls were everywhere surrounded, the most vigorous exertions were being made by the imperialists to press forward to the relief of her valiant defenders. Charles Duke of Lorraine had gathered an army of thirty-six thousand men, and, forbearing to risk a battle with the Ottoman army so greatly superior in numbers, waited impatiently on the left bank of the Danube for the forces of the allies, who were hastening to join his standard, and among whom was the illustrious hero Sobieski, in himself a host, his very name being the terror of the Sultan's troops.

It was extremely important that some communication should take place between the duke and the defenders of the city, and several heroic attempts were made for this purpose. The following incidents from the work already quoted,* can hardly fail to prove interesting :—

"For several days the offer had been promulgated of a considerable reward to the man who would brave the adventure of endeavouring to make his way with despatches to the camp of the Duke of Lorraine, when on the 6th of August a trooper of Count Gotz's regiment made his appearance in the city, having swum the various arms of the Danube, and bearing a letter well secured in wax. The hearts of the besieged were thus gladdened with the tidings of the assemblage and daily increase of the Christian army, and with the assurance

* "Two Sieges of Vienna.'

of early relief. The safe arrival of this messenger was announced to the yet distant army by a discharge of rockets. The messenger was less fortunate in his attempt to return. He was taken by the Turks and brought before the Vizier. The despatch with which he was entrusted being written in cypher, he was closely interrogated as to its contents and as to the condition of the city. He cunningly invented a tale of despair, and described the defenders of the place as depressed in spirits, exhausted in resources, and on the verge of surrender. The invention saved his life. The Vizier proclaimed these tidings through the camp, and caused the cypher despatch to be shot back into the city attached to an arrow, with an appendix to the purport that it was needless to write in cypher, for the wretched condition of those who had sent it was well known to the world, and was but the just punishment of men who had awakened the wrath of the Sultan. Soon after this transaction Christopher von Kunitz, a servant of Caprara, who had been detained in the Turkish camp, found means to escape into the city. He brought an account that the Vizier fully expected to have Vienna in his power within a few days, and that many of the magnates of Hungary, considering the cause of Austria as desperate, had come into the camp to do homage to the Vizier. He gave also a dismal confirmation of the ravage of the surrounding country, of which the Viennese had partial evidence in their own observation. On the 9th of August, Michael Gregorowitz, a Greek by birth, once a lieutenant in the Heister regiment, leaving the city in a Turkish disguise, crossed the Danube with despatches for the Duke of Lorraine. A fire signal from the crest of the Bisamberg conveyed the intelligence of the safe accomplishment of his enterprise, and he was rewarded with promotion to the rank of captain. He did not, however, succeed in effecting his return. The condition of affairs in the city began to be serious: the enemy made daily progress in his approaches, and no more volunteers came forward for the dangerous task of conveying intelligence to the army of the increasing pressure. At last George Francis Kolschitzki, a partizan officer whose name deserves honourable record for the importance of his

services, and the courage and dexterity with which they were executed, stepped forward. A Pole by birth, and previously an interpreter in the service of the Oriental merchants' company, he had become a citizen of the Leopoldstadt, and had served since the siege began in a free corps. Intimately conversant with the Turkish language and customs, he willingly offered himself for the dangerous office of passing through the very camp of the Turks to convey intelligence to the imperial army. On the 13th of August, accompanied by a servant of similar qualifications, he was let out through a sally-port in the Rothenthurm, and escorted by an aide-de-camp of the commandant as far as the palisades. He had scarcely advanced a hundred yards when he became aware of a considerable body of horse which advanced at a rapid pace towards the place of his exit. Being as yet too near the city to escape suspicion, he hastily turned to the left and concealed himself in the cellar of a ruined house of the suburb near Altlerchenfeld, where he kept close till the tramp of the passing cavalry had died away. He then pursued his course, and, singing a Turkish song, traversed at an idle pace and with an unembarrassed air the streets of Turkish tents. His cheerful mien and his familiar strain took the fancy of an Aga, who invited him into his tent, treated him with coffee, listened to more songs and to his tale of having followed the army as a volunteer, and cautioned him against wandering too far and falling into Christian hands. Kolschitzki thanked him for the advice, passed on in safety through the camp to beyond its verge. and then as unconcernedly made for the Kahlenberg and the Danube. Upon one of its islands he saw a body of people, who, misled by his Turkish attire, fired upon him and his companion. These were some inhabitants of Nussdorf, headed by the bailiff of that place, who had made this island their temporary refuge and home. Kolschitzki explained to them in German the circumstances of his mission, and entreated them to afford him an immediate passage over the river. This being obtained, he reached without further difficulty the bivouac of the imperial army, then on its march between Angern and Stillfried. After delivering and receiving des-

patches, the adventurous pair set out on their return, and after some hairbreadth escapes from the Turkish sentries, passed the palisades and re-entered the city by the Scottish gate, bearing a letter from the Duke to the following purport:—'He had received with deep emotion the intelligence of the loss of so many brave officers and soldiers, and of the sad condition of the city consequent both on this loss in action and on the epidemic. He retained his hopes that the defenders of a place so important would never relax in their noble efforts for its preservation. A considerable army was already collected for its relief. Reinforcements were daily arriving from Bavaria, Franconia, and Saxony, and the Duke was only waiting the arrival of the numerous forces of Poland, commanded by their king in person, which was to be expected by the end of August at the latest, to put the united mass in motion for the raising of the siege.' As an appendix to these assurances was added the consolatory intelligence of the surrender of Presburgh to the imperialists, and of the defeat of Tököli in two actions. The safe return of the bearer of this despatch was announced as usual by rockets as night signals, and in the day by a column of smoke from St. Stephen's spire. On the 21st August the daring Kolschitzki was on the point of repeating his adventurous undertaking, when a deserter, who had been recaptured, and was standing under the gallows with the halter adjusted, confessed that he had furnished to the Turks an accurate description of Kolschitzki's person. He was himself deterred by this warning, but his gallant companion, George Michailowich, found means twice to repeat the exploit with the same safety and success as in the first instance. On his second return he displayed a remarkable presence of mind and vigour of arm. Having all but reached the palisades, he was joined by a Turkish horseman, who entered into familiar conversation with him. As it was, however, impossible for him to follow further his path towards the city in such company, by a sudden blow he struck his unwelcome companion's head from his shoulders, and springing on the riderless horse, made his way to the gate. He did not, however, after this success, tempt his for-

tune again. He brought on this occasion an autograph letter from the Emperor, full of compliments and promises, which was publicly read in the Rathhaus. In contrast to so many examples of patriotism and self-exposure, there were not wanting instances of treason. A youth of sixteen, who had twice ventured into the Turkish camp, and brought back intelligence which proved to be unfounded, was arrested, and put to the question. He had been apprentice to a distiller, or vender of strong liquors (in the vulgar tongue of Vienna, called a wáter-burner). In his confession, extorted by torture, he stated that the severity of his master had driven him from his employment, and, having no other refuge, he had found means to escape to the camp. Promises of reward had induced him to undertake to procure for the Turks accurate information of the weak points of the defences, the strength of the garrison, the state of its supplies, &c. He at the same time accused a man of the cavalry stables as having instigated him to these courses. Being, however, confronted with this man, he totally failed in maintaining the charge. He was executed with the sword. The audacity of a younger traitor, a boy ten years of age, was still more extraordinary. He was arrested on the 10th August, while entering the city at a slow pace. When questioned as to the cause of his having ventured into the Turkish camp, he alleged that his parents, having been inhabitants of the suburb, had been detained by the Turks; that his father was compelled to work in the trenches, and his mother to sew sandbags for the sappers. While they were conducting him for his subsistence and safe custody to the Burger Hospital, the unfortunate urchin was met by his mother, who flew at him with reproaches for his long absence, and from her it was soon ascertained that she had never been in the Turkish camp, and that the boy's father was dead. After this unlucky meeting, the boy, taken before the authorities, confessed that he had carried to the enemy intelligence that several guns on the defences had been rendered unserviceable; that the wheaten loaves were no longer so white nor so heavy as they had been, that the commissariat bread was become

black and scarcely eatable; that many soldiers had died of such victual, and that the garrison had lost all courage for fighting. After endeavouring, with cunning beyond his years, but in vain, to fix on others the guilt of having instigated his treason, this precocious criminal, for whom whipping would have answered every legitimate purpose of punishment, was beheaded. Two soldiers, taken in the act of deserting, suffered with him. The practice of straying beyond the lines for the real, or alleged, purpose of seeking for plunder, in the ruins of the suburb, had become frequent, and it was thought necessary to check proceedings so favourable to desertion and treason by this example, and by severe edicts."

From day to day the most tremendous efforts were made by the Turkish troops to take possession of the city. Assault followed assault, and were repelled with the most obstinate valour. Mines sunk by the besiegers in every direction under the walls were met by the countermines of the besieged, and although large portions of the walls were frequently prostrated by the explosions, yet the defenders succeeded in rendering these effects of little avail. It is said that sixteen thousand of the Turkish miners perished in these vain attempts. The most fierce and sanguinary conflicts frequently took place between the defenders and their assailants, in which the Turkish sabre was found almost wholly inefficient in close conflict with the ponderous weapons which were wielded by the Germans, such as the halberd, the scythe, and the battle-axe.

The following singular anecdotes of this famous siege is from a tract by the Advocate Christian W. Huhn, an eye witness:—"In the night of August 2d some troopers of Dupigney's regiment, with divers foot soldiers of the garrison, made a sally by the covered way at the Scottish gate, and returned with forty-seven head of oxen and a captured Turk. The cattle were allotted partly to the wounded and sick soldiers, and partly to the captors, who made their gain from them, inasmuch as meat, which when the siege began had fetched one grosch the pound, rose afterwards to nine and more,

and a fresh egg did not wait for a customer at half a dollar. Whosoever also fancied Italian cookery might purchase of one of the women who sat in the high market a roof hare (cat), roast and larded for one florin, to be washed down with a cup of muscat wine at the Italian vintners; and truth to say, this animal, when the sweetness of the flesh was tempered with the salted lard, was an unusual, indeed, but not an unacceptable morsel. The 9th August was a fine clear day, on which a young and spirited Turk chose to disport himself for bravado on a caparisoned horse, performing strange antics with a lance in his right hand. While he was caracoling at a distance of full three hundred paces from the counterscarp, Henry Count von Kielmansegge, who happened to be with his foresters on the Karnthner bastion, took such good aim at him with a fowling-piece that he jumped up with a spring from the saddle, and fell dead amid shouts and laughter from the besieged. A lucky shot of the same kind was executed by a student of the university, who sent a bullet through the head of a Turk near the counterscarp palisade, and dragged the body to him with a halberd. Having learned from experience of others that the Turks, *either to strengthen the stomach*, or when mortally wounded, to rob the Christians of their booty, were accustomed to roll up their ducats together and swallow them, without further ceremony he ripped up the corpse and found six ducats so rolled up within it. The head he cut off and bore it round the city upon a lance-point as a spectacle of his ovation. In the assault of the 17th August, a common soldier, having mastered and beheaded a Turk, and finding a hundred ducats upon him sewed up in a dirty cloth, as one who had never seen so much money together before, went about the city like one distracted, clapping his hands and showing his booty to all he met, encouraging them by his example to win the like, as though it rained money from heaven.

"On the 13th September, the day following the relief of the city, the Poles being masters of the Turkish camp, many soldiers, citizens, and inhabitants, while as yet no gate was opened, clambered down over the breaches and by the secret

sallyports to pick up what they might of provisions, ammunition, or other articles of small value. The King of Poland and his people having fallen on the military chest and the Vizier's tent, had carried off many millions in money, and the Vizier's war-horse, his quivers, bows, and arrows, all of countless value, together with the great standard of their Prophet, inscribed with Turkish characters, and two horsetail standards. I, with many others who had been enrolled in a volunteer body during the siege, thought to pick up our share of the spoil. I, therefore, gained the counterscarp by the Stuben gate, passing between the ruined palisades on horseback to the Turkish camp. I did not, however, dare to dismount, by reason of the innumerable quantity of flies and vermin, which, although at so advanced a time of the month of September, swarmed up from the bodies of more than twenty thousand dead horses and mules, so as to darken the air, and so covering my horse, that not the space of a needle point remained free from them, the which was so insufferable to him, that he began to plunge and kick in front and rear, so that I was fain to get me clear of the press and make my way back to the city, but not till I had persuaded a passer-by to reach to me the bow and arrows of one who lay there, and also the cap of a Janizary, and some books which lay about, and which had been plundered in the country, and secured them in my saddle-bags. After the which I re-entered the city, not as one *ovans* on foot, but *triumphans* on horseback with my *spolia*. I had no want of predecessors before or followers behind, for every one who had legs to carry him had betaken himself to the camp to plunder it. Although I had gained the counterscarp and the inner defences, I passed a good hour making my way through the pass, and my unruly horse was compelled to move step by step for such time before I could extricate him and regain my quarters."

Notwithstanding the gallantry of the defence, after the siege had continued to the end of August, the condition of the city became all but hopeless. The walls in many places were reduced to heaps of rubbish, the ranks of the brave defenders were becoming every day more and more

thinned, and famine was at hand.* The besiegers, however, were becoming disheartened at the length to which the attack had been protracted, and all that was required was the appearance of the imperial forces to throw them into confusion. After one of the most terrible sieges recorded in history, the day of Vienna's deliverance dawned. The following graphic account is furnished by the work already quoted.†

"At sunrise of the 12th September, the crest of the Kahlenberg was concealed by one of those autumnal mists which give promise of a genial, perhaps a sultry day, and which, clinging to the wooded flanks of the acclivity, grew denser as it descended, till it rested heavily on the shores and the stream itself of the river below. From that summit the usual fiery signals of distress had been watched through the night by many an eye as they rose incessantly from the tower of St. Stephen, and now the fretted spire of that edifice, so long the target of the ineffectual fire of the Turkish artillerists, was faintly distinguished rising from a sea of mist. As the hour wore on, and the exhalation dispersed, a scene was disclosed which must have made those who witnessed it from the Kahlenberg tighten their saddle-girths or look to their priming. A practised eye glancing over the fortifications of the city could discern from the Burg to the Scottish gate an interruption of their continuity, a shapeless interval of rubbish and of ruin, which seemed as if a battalion might enter it abreast. In face of this desolation a labyrinth of lines extended itself, differing in design from the rectilinear zigzag of a modern approach, and formed of short curves overlapping

* The price of a pound of beef had risen in the proportion of one to nine, and sometimes twelve. Articles of daily subsistence to families of middle rank had now become the luxuries of the rich. An egg cost half a dollar, pork eight silver groschen the pound; veal and poultry no longer existed. Under these circumstances, cats no longer enjoyed the immunity due, in times of peace and plenty, to their domestic virtues, and the chase of this animal in cellars and over roofs became not merely a pastime of the young and mischievous, but the occupation of serious and hungry men. The Viennese love for a jest is discernible in the aplation of *dachshase*, or roof hare, bestowed on this new object of the chase.

† "Two Sieges of Vienna."

each other, to use a comparison of some writers of the time, like the scales of a fish. In these, the Turkish lines, the miner yet crawled to his task, and the storming parties were still arrayed by order of the Vizier, ready for a renewal of the assault so often repeated in vain. The camp behind had been evacuated by the fighting men; the horse-tails had been plucked from before the tents of the Pashas, but their harems still tenanted the canvas city; masses of Christian captives awaited there their doom in chains; camels and drivers and camp followers still peopled the long streets of tents in all the confusion of fear and suspense. Nearer to the base of the hilly range of the Kahlenberg and the Leopoldsberg, the still imposing numbers of the Turkish army were drawn up in battle array, ready to dispute the egress of the Christian columns from the passes, and prevent their deployment on the plain. To the westward, on the reverse flank of the range, the Christian troops might be seen toiling up the ascent. As they drew up on the crest of the Leopoldsberg, they formed a half circle round the chapel of the Margrave, and when the bell for matins tolled, the clang of arms and the noises of the march were silenced. On a space kept clear round the chapel, a standard with a white cross on a red ground was unfurled, as if to bid defiance to the blood-red flag planted in front of the tent of the Grand Vizier Mustafa. One shout of acclamation and defiance broke out from the modern crusaders as this emblem of a holy war was displayed, and all again was hushed as the gates of the castle were flung open, and a procession of the princes of the empire and the other leaders of the Christian host moved forward to the chapel. It was headed by one whose tonsured crown and venerable beard betokened the monastic profession. The soldiers crossed themselves as he passed, and knelt to receive the blessing which he gave them with outstretched hands. This was the famous Capuchin Marco Aviano, friend and confessor to the Emperor, whose acknowledged piety and exemplary life had earned for him the general reputation of prophetic inspiration. He had been the inseparable companion of the Christian army in its hours of difficulty and

danger, and was now here to assist at the consummation of his prayers for its success. Among the stately warriors who composed his train, three principally attracted the gaze of the curious. The first in rank and station was a man somewhat past the prime of life, strong-limbed and of imposing stature, but quick and lively in speech and gesture, his head partly shaved in the fashion of his semi-eastern country, his hair, eyes, and beard dark-coloured. His majestic bearing bespoke the soldier king, the scourge and dread of the Moslem, the conqueror of Choczim, John Sobieski. His own attire is said to have been plain, but we gather from his letters that in his retinue he displayed a Sclavonic taste for magnificence which strongly contrasted with the economical arrangements of Lorraine, and even of the two Electors. Painters, and others studious of accuracy, may be glad to know that on this occasion the colour of his dress was sky blue, and that he rode a bay horse. An attendant bearing a shield, with his arms emblazoned, always preceded him, and his place in battle was marked by another who carried a plume on his lance point, a signal more conspicuous, though less inseparable, than the famous white plume of Henry IV. On his left was his youthful son Prince James, armed with a breastplate and helmet, and, in addition to an ordinary sword, with a short and broad-bladed sabre, a national weapon of former ages; on his right was the illustrious and heroic ancestor of the present reigning house of Austria, Charles of Lorraine. Behind these moved many of the principal members of those sovereign houses of Germany whose names and titles have been already specified. At the side of Louis of Baden walked a youth of slender frame and moderate stature, but with that intelligence in his eye which pierced in after years the cloud of many a doubtful field, and swayed the fortunes of empires. This was the young Eugene of Savoy, who drew his maiden sword in the quarrel in which his brother had lately perished. The service of high mass was performed in the chapel by Aviano, the King assisting at the altar, while the distant thunder of the Turkish batteries formed strange accompaniment to the Christian choir. The

Princes then received the sacrament, and the religious ceremony was closed by a general benediction of the troops by Aviano. The king then stepped forward and conferred knighthood on his son, with the usual ceremonies, commending to him as an example for his future course the great commander then present, the Duke of Lorraine. He then addressed his troops in their own language to the following effect:—'Warriors and friends! Yonder in the plain are our enemies, in numbers greater indeed than at Choczim, where we trod them under foot. We have to fight them on a foreign soil, but we fight for our own country, and under the walls of Vienna we are defending those of Warsaw and Cracow. We have to save to-day, not a single city, but the whole of Christendom, of which that city of Vienna is the bulwark. The war is a holy one. There is a blessing on our arms, and a crown of glory for him who falls. You fight not for your earthly sovereign, but for the King of kings. His power has led you unopposed up the difficult access to these heights, and has thus placed half the victory in your hands. The infidels see you now above their heads; and with hopes blasted and courage depressed, are creeping among valleys destined for their graves. I have but one command to give,—follow me. The time is come for the young to win their spurs.' Military music and the shouts of thousands greeted this pertinent harangue, and as it closed, five cannon shots gave the signal for the general advance. A sharp fire of musketry from the small hamlet of Kahlenberg near Nussdorf soon announced that the left wing, under the immediate command of the Duke of Lorraine, had felt the enemy, and it increased as his attack developed itself towards Heiligenstadt and Dobling. The centre, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria and the Prince of Waldeck, moved upon Währing and Weinhaus. The right wing, under the King of Poland, issued from the woods near Dornbach. There is no doubt that the general disposal of the confederated forces was entirely arranged by the King. His rank alone would have entitled him to a nominal precedency, which, even in the case of an ordinary sovereign, it would have been convenient to admit;

for, previously to his arrival in the camp, disputes had already arisen between Saxony and Bavaria, and Vienna might have been taken twice over before such disputes between German sovereigns could have been settled. The respect, however, in which John Sobieski's military talents were held, his vast experience of the Turkish manner of fighting, and the dread which his presence was known to inspire amongst that people, were such as to obtain a ready and real acquiescence in his slightest suggestions, so long as the difficulty lasted and the danger was imminent. His order of battle was a deep one. To avoid so great an extension of front as would have compelled him to throw his right flank beyond the little river Wien instead of keeping that stream on his right, he adopted a formation in three lines, the third acting as a reserve. The troops were strictly directed to preserve their ranks on the approach of the enemy, and halt to receive his fire and return their own; then to advance steadily, and make good the ground so gained—the infantry gradually developing itself to the right and left, and allowing the cavalry to fill up the intervals, and take its full share in the further advance, charging as opportunity should offer.

"The first operation of Kara Mustafa was worthy of one in whom the cruelty was united with the ignorance of the savage—it was the slaughter of the defenceless captives of all ages and either sex, with whom, to the number it is said of 30,000, his camp was crowded. It was obeyed to the letter; and even the inmates of the soldiers' harems, women far different in morals from the courtezans of the Christian camp, are said to have perished. The command of the right wing, which occupied strong and broken ground opposite the Duke of Lorraine, was intrusted to the Pasha of Mesopotamia. The Vizier himself commanded in the centre opposite Währing, and the left wing opposite Hernals was commanded by the old Pasha of Pesth. The cavalry were in advance towards the base of the Kahlenberg. The hollow ways between Nussdorf and Heiligenstadt were strongly entrenched and fiercely defended. It was, as has been noticed, the original intention of the king to content himself on this day

with the descent of the acclivity and the establishment of the army in favourable order and position for a general action on the morrow, and he had agreed upon this course with Lorraine, but the fierceness of the struggle on the left of the allies drew his forces gradually to its support, and brought on a more immediate decision. To descend the wooded acclivities without deranging the scientific order of battle devised and adopted was an operation only less tedious and difficult than the ascent of the preceding days, and it was to be performed in the presence of an enemy for courage and numbers not to be despised. The left wing was engaged for some hours before the Bavarians in the centre or the Poles on the right could deploy. The defence of the broken ground near Nussdorf and Heiligenstadt on the part of the Turks was obstinate, but having occupied in haste and too late their present position at the foot of the heights, they had not brought up their artillery, and their dismounted cavalry, of which the troops here engaged were principally composed, were not a match for the Imperialists, who drove the enemy steadily before them from ravine to ravine, and carried the two villages. It is probable that Lorraine, adhering to the original scheme of action, might have contented himself with this success for the day, and it is not certain at what period of the action a contrary and bolder determination first suggested itself to either the King or himself. The Duke is said to have consulted at a critical period the Saxon Field-Marshall Geltz, who, observing the progress of the Bavarians and Poles towards the centre and right, gave it for his opinion that the Duke might sleep that night if he would in Vienna. Eugene of Savoy was employed during the action in conveying a message from Lorraine to the King. We may indulge ourselves with the conjecture that he was charged with this decision, one worthy of such a messenger. Accounts differ as to the hour at which the action became general by the deployment of the Bavarians and Poles. Some put it as late as two P.M. It is said, however, that towards eleven o'clock the Imperialists on the left were slackening their advance to make good the ground they

had gained, and to wait for the appearance of their friends, when the gilded cuirasses of the Polish cavalry flashed out from the defiles of the Wenersberg, and the shout of "Live Sobieski" ran along the lines. The heat was oppressive, and the King halted and dismounted his people for a hasty repast. This concluded, the whole line advanced, and the battle soon raged in every part of an amphitheatre admirably adapted by nature for such a transaction. The Turks had profited by the lull to bring up heavy reinforcements, and the Vizier flung himself on the Poles in very superior numbers. In an early part of the encounter, a body of Polish Hulans compromised itself by a rash advance, and was for a time surrounded. It was extricated by the prompt and judicious assistance of Waldeck and his Bavarians, but lost many officers of distinction, and among them a Potocki, the treasurer Modrjewski, and the Colonel Ahasuerus. The second line was brought up by Sobieski, and the Turks were driven before their desperate valour through ravines and villages, and the fortified position of Hernalsback, upon the glacis of their camp. The city of tents with all its treasures was almost within their grasp; but it is said that even with such a spectacle before him, Sobieski's caution all but induced him to pause till the morrow. The approach to the camp was protected by a ravine, the ground in front was undulating and strengthened with works, and occupied by a strong force and a powerful artillery. The King was in face of the centre of this position; his right covered by Jablanowski against the attacks of the Tartar cavalry. It was five o'clock; his infantry was not yet at hand; the only artillery which had kept pace with the speed of his advance consisted of two or three light pieces which the veteran commander of his artillery, Kouski, had brought up by force of arm and levers. Sobieski pointed these at the field tent of crimson silk, from which the Vizier was giving his orders. The ammunition carriages were, however, far behind, and a few charges carried by hand were soon exhausted. A French officer, it is said, rammed home the last cartridge with his gloves, his wig, and a packet of French newspapers.

"At this moment of hesitation the infantry came up. They were led by the Count Maligniz, the King's brother-in-law, against a height which commanded the quarters of the Vizier. The attack was successful, and the King determined on the instant to pursue his fortune. As he led his troops in a direct line for the Vizier's tent, his terrible presence was recognized by the infidel. 'By Allah, the King is really among us,' exclaimed the Khan of the Crimea, Selim Gieray. The mass retreated in confusion. Those who awaited the attack went down before those lances of the Polish cavalry, of which it was said by a Polish noble to one of their kings, that if the heavens were to fall they would sustain them on their points. The Pashas of Aleppo and Silistria perished in the fray. The panic became universal and the route complete. The Vizier, hurried along with the stream, weeping and cursing by turns, had neither time to deliberate nor power to command. By six o'clock, his gorgeous tent was in possession of Sobieski. His charger, too, heavily caparisoned for rapid flight, was still held by a slave at the entrance. One of the golden stirrups was instantly sent off by the conqueror to the Queen as a token of the defeat and flight of its late owner. On the left, meanwhile, the progress of Lorraine, though less rapid from the difficulties of the ground and the tenacity of the resistance, had been equally victorious. The great Turkish redoubt, of which the traces yet remain, held out against repeated assaults till near five o'clock, when Louis of Baden, at the head of a regiment of Saxon dragoons, dismounted for the purpose, and two Austrian regiments of infantry, carried the work. The Turks now gave way at every point, and poured into their camp in the wildest confusion. The Margrave Louis, at the head of a squadron of dragoons, was the first to open a communication with the city from the counterscarp of the Scottish gate. Stahremberg ordered an immediate sally against the approaches of the enemy, from which they had maintained through the day as heavy a fire as on any previous day of the siege, though no assault had been attempted by the strong body of Janizaries left in them for that purpose. These men, abandoned now

without orders to their fate, endeavoured to turn the guns of the batteries upon the Imperialists. The attempt, however, in the general confusion which ensued, was vain, and the main body of the Janizaries, unable or unwilling to retreat, was cut to pieces in the course of the night. The camp meanwhile fell into the undisputed possession of the Poles.

"Previous precaution, or a few moment's halt at St. Ulric, enabled the Vizier to save the sacred standard of the Prophet. One of the many standards captured was sent by Sobieski to the Pope, under the supposition that it was the famous Palladium in question; but this proved to be a mistake. It is probable, also, that the mass of the treasure, which is supposed to have been very great, in the Vizier's exchequer had been removed; and we learn from the King of Poland's letters that considerable sums of coin were hastily divided among the Vizier's attendants at the last moment, and carried off. No great amount of coin or bullion was found in the tents. Every other item in the long catalogue of the treasures and luxuries which the Vizier had accumulated round his person, fell into the hands of the Poles. The Turks continued their flight, without intermission, in the direction of Raab, where the force still employed in the blockade of that fortress afforded them a rallying point. It was, however, impossible for the Christian leaders to assure themselves at so late an hour of the full extent of the enemy's discomfiture, or even to consider themselves secure against a night attack. Great exertions were therefore made, both by the King and the Duke, to keep their troops well in hand through the night. The King, whose advance had led him to the very centre of the camp, found it necessary to resort to threats of summary and capital punishment to prevent his whole army from dispersing itself at once to gather the rich harvest of the Turkish tents. These threats were, as may be imagined, only partially effectual. Tents guarded in front were cut open from behind, and discipline, as usual, gave way before the attraction of spoil. The Germans had no such immediate opportunities for plunder. Two regiments only of Austrian dragoons were despatched in pursuit as far as the

Fischa stream. The slaughter of this battle was not great in proportion to the numbers engaged and the results obtained. The loss of the Turks has been computed at twenty-five thousand men. Among these was that body of Janizaries who were forgotten, and left without orders in the trenches, and were cut to pieces during the night. The King describes the Turks as defending themselves desperately, even in full flight. In this point of view, he says, they made the finest retreat in the world. That of the Christians has been stated at one thousand killed and three thousand wounded, which is probably far less than the truth, for the Poles alone lost a hundred officers—among them some of their first nobles. In the centre the loss of the Bavarians was probably trifling, but on the left the struggle was long and severe. A prince of Croy fell here in the early part of the action. In the Vizier's encampment was found the Polish envoy Proski, who, from the period of his sovereign's junction with Austria, had been kept in fetters, under constant menace of the sabre or the bowstring, and now owed his life and liberation to the confusion of the moment. Kunitz also, an agent in Caprari's suite, who had been detained in the Turkish camp, and had found means to send occasional intelligence to Stahremberg, escaped in a Turkish disguise during the action. A Polish writer, Rubinkoski, gives a rough list of the artillery and its appurtenances abandoned in the lines:—sixty guns of forty-eight pounds, sixty of twenty-four pounds, a hundred and fifty of various lesser calibre, forty mortars, nine thousand ammunition waggons, a hundred thousand oxen, twenty-five thousand tents, a million pounds of powder. To this may be added ten thousand camels, five thousand oxen, mules, sheep, &c. and immense stores of other provision. Among those accidental results of events which the political economist and the philosopher loves to notice, is the fact that the popular use of coffee in Germany is to be dated from this period, and is due to the plunder of the Turkish camp. Stahremberg's brave and faithful messenger, Kolschitzki, was rewarded by permission to set up the first coffee-house in Vienna. The head of the corporation of coffee providers is bound to this

day to have in his house a portrait of this patriarch of his profession.* Another inventory of the siege-stores actually brought into the arsenal of Vienna shows a considerable amount, as well as variety of articles, but can give but an imperfect notion of the vast provision accumulated, as the army authorities could but glean after the plunderers of the three first days. The King writes to his wife that the quantity of ammunition saved was at most a third of the whole, and says that the continual explosions in the camp were like the last judgment. His letters give some very amusing details of that portion of the spoils of the Vizier's tent which he contrived to rescue for his own share from the fangs of his officers. They illustrate also the character of the man whose penetralia were thus rudely exposed to investigation, and show that Kara Mustafa had superadded every description of refinement to the simpler sensuality of the east. Tissues, and carpets, and furs are natural appendages of Oriental rank and wealth; and jewelled arms and quivers, studded with rubies and pearls, were equally consistent with his functions as commander of the armies of the faithful. Baths, fountains, a rabbit warren, and a menagerie were found within the encampment. A parrot took wing and foiled the pursuit of the soldiers. An ostrich had been beheaded by the Vizier's own hand, as if it had been a woman of the harem, to prevent its falling into Christian hands. This rarity had been taken from the imperial menagerie at the Favorita, where the King mentions having found a famished lioness and a small body of Janizaries, who had been left behind at that post, and still held out some days after the action. The Janizaries surrendered to the personal summons of the King. Their lives were spared, and the lioness fed by order of the good-natured conqueror. 'The Vizier,' writes the King, 'is a *galant homme*, and has made us fine presents; every-

* The first coffee-house in Europe was established in Constantinople in 1551. A century later, in 1652, a Greek established one in London. The first in France was at Marseilles in 1671, in Paris the following year. In Germany that of Kolschitzki was the first, the second was opened at Leipzic in 1694. In 1700 Vienna counted four, in 1737 eleven. In the city and suburbs there are now one hundred.

thing in particular which came near his person is of the most *mignon* and refined description. Father Louis will have reason to rejoice, for I have in my possession the medicine-chest of the Vizier. Among its contents are oils, and gums, and balms, which Pecovini* is never tired of admiring. Among other things, we have found some rare fishes called Eperlans de mer. *Informez-vous-en, mon cœur, chez le Père Louis; ce doit être une chose précieuse pour rechauffer les entrailles.*' Among the treasures of the Vizier diamonds were found in great profusion; many, set in girdles and otherwise, fell into the hands of the King, and many more carried off by the officers and soldiers. The King remarks that they were not used for ornament by the Turks of his day, and conjectures that they were destined to adorn the ladies of Vienna when transferred to the harems of the Vizier and his Pashas."

* The King's Italian physician.

CHAPTER XXI.

A. D. 1683—1691.

The siege of Vienna raised—The disasters of the Ottoman troops—The Grand Vizier Mustafa put to death—The Republic of Venice declares war—Successes of its fleet in the Mediterranean—Effects of the warfare of Venice on the monuments of Grecian architecture—Loss of Buda, &c.—The Sultan sues for peace with the Emperor of Germany—The Emperor's extravagant demands—War renewed—Misfortunes of the army—Mohammad IV. dethroned—Succeeded by Solyman II.—Continued misfortunes—Appointment of Kiuperli, brother of Achmet, as Grand Vizier—His successes—Death of Solyman II.

WHILE the citizens, on the departure of their enemies, issued from the ruins of their walls to enjoy the liberty and security so long denied them, and of which their recent extreme peril rendered them then more sensible, the invading army were compelled to retrace their steps in complete and irretrievable disorder, in sad contrast to the triumph and confidence with which they had assembled two months before.

The Grand Vizier Mustafa had now to endure a succession of disappointments. He witnessed, within a very brief period, the loss of territories, the conquest and possession of which had cost a century and a half, besides immense loss of life and treasure. His troops were incapable of defending themselves. Struck with terror, the Ottoman army having begun their retreat, continued it for forty-eight hours, without food and without halting, till they reached the Raab, a distance of twenty-seven German miles. Everywhere they were defeated, till scarcely a regiment could be induced to come to an engagement with their enemies. The fall of Gran, and subsequently that of Buda, before the victorious troops of

Sobieski, completed the series of disasters which distinguished this campaign.

These tidings having reached Constantinople, afforded the Vizier's enemies the opportunity they had so long desired, and the Sultan's reluctance to put him to death was soon overcome. A chamberlain of the court rode out from Hadrianople with the simple order to return as soon as might be with the head of Kara Mustafa. "The officer, on approaching Belgrade, communicated his mission to the Aga of the Janizaries, who gave his prompt acquiescence and ready assistance to the objects of the mission. The transaction was conducted, on the part of the servants of the crown, with that decent privacy and convenient expedition which usually attend the execution of Turkish justice, and submitted to by the patient with the quiet dignity with which the predestinarian doctrine of Islam arms its votaries against all accidents. The insignia of authority were politely demanded and quietly resigned, the carpet was spread, the short prayer uttered, the bowstring adjusted. In a few moments the late dispenser of life and death, the uncontrolled commander of two hundred thousand men, was a corpse, and his head on the road to Hadrianople."

The disasters which had thus befallen the Sultan were hailed with delight by his numerous enemies. The Venetians, on the death of the Doge, had elected Maro Antonio Justiniani. They now declared war with Turkey, and immediately made active preparations for hostilities. Their fleet was joined by that of Malta, the galleys of the Pope, and those of the Duke of Tuscany. Santa Maura was retaken. Coron, Navarino, Nauplia, Corinth, and other places, fell into the possession of their troops, and they obtained great successes in Dalmatia.

The warfare of the Republic of Venice in Greece is a subject of great interest.* "Athens emerged from the dark ages nearly in the state in which we now find it. Deprived of the adventitious circumstances which caused its ancient

* The following remarks are cited from Leake's Topography of Athens, to which highly interesting work the reader is referred for more complete information.

splendour, and even of the maritime commerce, which is necessary to raise it above a small provincial town, Athens was reduced to its present population of eight or ten thousand; and the antipathy which must always prevail between the Mussulmans and Christians, its distance from the sea-shore, and barbarous modern designation of Settines, threw a veil over its interesting site; thus, notwithstanding the cultivation of Greek literature, Athens was hardly known to exist as an inhabited place, still less was it suspected to retain any remains of its ancient magnificence.

"Twice only since the Turkish conquest has Athens been awakened by the events of war from her lethargic repose; once in 1464, when the Venetians landed, surprised the city, and carried off their captives to Eubœa; and again, after the lapse of two centuries, at the appearance of Morosini before her walls. Finding the season too late to undertake the reduction of Eubœa, the Venetian commander determined, by the reduction of Athens, to secure a convenient winter station in the Piræus. The Turks, being taken by surprise, retired into the Acropolis, and sent to the Seraskier at Thebes for relief, while eight thousand troops, under the command of Count Konigsmarke, a Swede, disembarked, marched to Athens, and besieged the Acropolis. A battery was erected on the hill of the Pnyx, and two mortars near the Latin convent, where stands the exquisitely modelled Cheragic monument of Lysicrates; their fire was opened, and principally directed against the Propylæa. To the explosion of a Turkish magazine, which soon took place, we may probably attribute the destruction of the beautiful little temple of Victory without wings, the frieze of which is now in the British Museum, for from Spon and Wheler it is known to have been complete before the siege, and used as a powder magazine.

"The Parthenon, being so conspicuous an object, and occupying so large a portion of the citadel, could not long escape injury; but this might have been comparatively insignificant, had not the Turks unfortunately collected in the Temple, together with their most valuable property, a large quantity of combustible ammunition. A shell falling upon

the centre of the building, inflamed the magazine, and the explosion reduced all the middle of the Temple to a heap of ruins; and having also occurred nearer to the eastern than to the western end, it threw down all the wall at that extremity, and precipitated to the ground all the statues of the eastern pediment, while the western front received little injury. The fire spread to the houses of the citadel, and the Pasha and his son being killed by another shell, the Turks capitulated on the 29th of September. The plague soon broke out, whence Morosini, anxious to achieve the conquest of Eubœa, dismantled the Acropolis, and abandoned his conquest in March 1688. The occupation of Athens contributed in no measure to benefit the Venetian expedition, and in three days the works of Pericles received more injury than had been caused by many centuries of the grossest barbarism.

"A few years before the siege, when Wheler and Spon, and De Nointel (the French ambassador already noticed), visited Athens, the Propylæa still preserved its pediment; the temple of Victory without wings was complete; the Parthenon was perfect, with very slight exceptions; the Erechtheium was scarcely injured; and there were still some remains of statues and buildings on the south side of the Acropolis. If the result of the siege did not leave the edifices of the Acropolis quite in the deplorable state in which we now see them, the injury which they received on that occasion was the cause of all the dilapidation which they have since suffered, and indeed has rendered the transportation of the fallen fragments of sculpture out of Turkey their best preservative from total demolition.

"The removal of the statues of the western pediment of the Parthenon, which even the explosion had been unable to displace, was begun by Morosini himself, who thought that the car of Victory, with its horses of the natural size, and of such admirable workmanship as to strike the Venetians themselves, when they came to examine them, with astonishment and regret, would be a noble monument of his conquest of Athens. By the awkwardness of the Venetian engineers, however, the whole group was thrown down in the act of

lowering it; and, according to the testimony of an eyewitness, broken to atoms. The destruction of these horses was so complete, that no remains of them have been discovered among the other fragments found at the foot of the western pediment, and conveyed to England by Lord Elgin."

The successes of the Venetians were accompanied, as already stated, by others no less remarkable in Austria and Hungary. Buda, after having been in the possession of the Ottomans for a century and a quarter, became finally a part of the Austrian dominions; and the victorious Duke of Lorraine speedily deprived the Sultan of his remaining strongholds beyond the Danube, while a triple alliance between the Emperor of Germany, the King of Poland, and the Czar of Russia, menaced the dominions of the Sultan with even greater perils than any that had yet befallen his arms. In Constantinople, the dissatisfaction with the Sultan's conduct was extreme, and the 'Ulama at length issued an ominous fetva. The imprecations of Solyman the Great against any of his successors who should undertake the siege of Vienna, furnished ample materials to charge all their misfortunes, and loss of their armies and provinces, upon the unfortunate Sultan.

Under the pressure of necessity, the Sultan now desired to enter into a treaty of peace with the Emperor of Germany, and began the requisite negociations for that purpose. The demands, however, which were made as the condition of that arrangement, were excessive. Six millions of gold was the sum required as the expenses of the war, and the surrender of all claims to any part of Hungary. This was construed into an insult by the Grand Vizier Solyman, who had succeeded the ill-fated Mustafa, and the Ottoman army marched once more, and passed the Drave, to encounter the forces of Leopold. The result of the campaign was no less fatal than that which had preceded it. The Ottoman army was totally defeated on the plains of Mohatcz, the scene of the celebrated battle with Louis II., and the states of Hungary, at a convocation subsequently held at Presburg, declared their crown to be hereditary to the house of Austria.

These disasters decided the fate of Mohammad IV. The

'Ulama, and indeed all his people, charged upon him the evil consequences of the campaigns against Vienna, as a retribution for the breach of the treaty of 1674, which, when the war with the Emperor was renewed, had not yet expired. The Sultan endeavoured to pacify the Janizaries by the death of the Grand Vizier Solyman, and others of his principal ministers, but he himself must have fallen a victim to the rage of his fierce soldiers, but for the interference of one of the Kiuperli family. He was, however, dethroned, and from 1687 passed the remaining portion of his life in the solitude of a prison.

The deposition of Sultan Mohammad placed his brother Solyman II. upon the Ottoman throne. This prince had passed all his life in retirement and study, and possessed no political experience such as fitted him for the important position he was now called upon to occupy.

When invited to accept the sovereignty, his first impulse was to reject it, from the consciousness he possessed of being inadequate to the arduous duties which it involved. The 'Ulama, however, overruled his scruples by intimating to him that the Kur-án directed compliance with the public voice; and thus Solyman was constrained to ascend the imperial seat.

The leader of the revolt which had effected this great change was the Vizier Siaus Pasha. This man was imprudent enough to deny to the Janizaries the gratuity customary upon the commencement of a new reign; and before he could provide against the effects of their discontent, a sudden revolt took place. The agitators forced his palace, put the Vizier to death, as he bravely defended the passage to the harem; and in the moment of excitement they proceeded to violences scarcely ever perpetrated by Muslims on the helpless members of the Vizier's family. They then proceeded to plunder the houses of the 'Ulama.

The dangers which menaced themselves, as well as the state, aroused that powerful class, and taking the sacred standard of the Prophet from the seraglio, they called on all the citizens to rally around it, and to punish the revolters.

A change of the most striking nature was instantly produced by this measure; the rebels laid down their arms, and swore obedience to Solyman; and Ismail Cogia, who was appointed to the Viziariat, had also the duty of punishing the authors of so many horrors; he therefore resorted to the usual expedient of destroying them at night, and by secret opportunities. The Janizaries, alarmed at the circumstances of peril in which they were placed, again revolted. The seraglio was attacked with furious menaces, and the Sultan, terrified by the tumult, made Ismail the victim, by deposing and exiling him to Rhodes. Mustafa, his successor in the Viziariat, calmed the discontent by prudent largesses; and the alarming tidings of the revolt of the Spahees in Anatolia also contributed to bring the Janizaries to reason. These revolters were making a rapid progress towards Constantinople, to enforce the payment of the same gratuities to their corps as had been bestowed on the Janizaries; and the latter willingly obeyed the mandate which sent them into Asia to combat their ancient rivals, whom they compelled to desist from their demands.

Meantime the war grew more disastrous every month. The fortress of Agria, in Hungary, was taken by the Imperialists; Montgatz, which contained the treasures of Count Tököli, was obliged to capitulate; Wessemberg, Peterwardein, with many inferior places, followed; and, to crown the campaign, Belgrade fell into the hands of the Imperialists. In Croatia and Esclavonia, the same success followed the imperial standards. The Venetians, it is true, were unable to retain Athens, or to subdue Eubœa; but they reduced the important fortresses of Verlicca, Konigard, and Grassutch. The Poles alone were unsuccessful: Kaminiek withstood their arms; and the Czar of the Muscovites succeeded in repressing the incursions of the Tartars.

Pressed upon every side by dangers, the Sultan was compelled to sue for peace. The demands of Leopold astonished the Ottoman envoys. They offered, in the name of Solyman, to cede the territory of Hungary, and give up the city of Kaminiek to the King of Poland; but the demands of Austria comprised Esclavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Servia, together

with the payment of a large sum of money for the expenses of the war. The Poles and Venetians were equally exorbitant in their demands. Dissembling their resentment, the Turkish ministers pleaded inadequate powers to assent to such demands. They therefore dispatched the details to the capital; and Leopold committed the envoys to the fortress of Puttendorf, observing, however, the respect due to their public mission.

When the news of the ill success of the negociations arrived at Constantinople, Solyman enjoined public prayers, rigorous fasts, the disuse of wine, and the increase of charity and alms-giving, while he himself testified his earnest zeal for the public welfare. These demands upon their faith raised the confidence of the people, who could not suppose that so much piety could be ineffectual, and their spirits, hitherto depressed, began to revive, especially at the public intimation that the Sultan intended to take the field against the enemy in person.

While such was the state of affairs, the ambassador of Louis XIV. arrived at Constantinople, and informed the Porte of the intention of the King to employ four hundred thousand men against Leopold. The war of 1688 had at this period recalled the Duke of Lorraine to his own states, the Elector of Bavaria being ill, the Prince of Baden was left in command. Solyman expecting to obtain an easy conquest, marched with his army to Sophia, which, however, he had hardly reached, when he returned on being informed that the Imperialists had assumed the offensive.

The Pasha Ragib, who was left in command, was a firm believer in astrology, and although strict orders had been given that he should not attempt a general engagement with the enemy, he preferred consulting with his astrologer, and adopting his counsels. Accordingly, without regarding any other advice, Ragib awaited the approach of the Prince of Baden on the banks of the Morawa, near Passarowitz, and in a most unfavourable position. The Ottomans were completely defeated, and being chased off the field, never rallied until under the cannon of Nissa. The astrologer still confidently

promised victory, and Ragib again tempted the chances of a battle, and the last remains of his army was destroyed. Ten thousand Turks fell in the field of Nissa, and Bulgaria was left without defenders. Nissa opened her gates, and the conquerors advancing within four leagues of Sophia, the Sultan issued thence in haste, having despatched envoys to Leopold to sue for peace.

The Venetians made no progress in Greece, for, needlessly infringing on the privileges of the Mainiotes, they shook off the Venetian yoke in disgust, and preferred to send an embassy to the Porte, to appoint them a Waywode. So favourable was it to the Imperialists, that, notwithstanding the impolitic demand of Leopold for a payment of two millions of crowns, the necessity of the empire would have compelled the Sultan to sign the degrading treaty. But the envoys whom Solyman had sent into Hungary were still in prison, and took care to inform the Sultan of all that was requisite as to his future movements. They stated the difficulties with which the Emperor had to contend, and thus encouraged the Sultan to retract the offers of peace which he had been led to make, and to resolve on continuing the war which he had begun.

The Emperor of Germany had neglected a most propitious moment, for the war of France demanded his whole resources, and the strong places of Hungary were without stores or provisions; even Buda was altogether unprovided. The Sultan appointed as his Grand Vizier one of the distinguished family of Kiuperli, the brother of the celebrated Achmet, and he entered upon his important office with the full confidence of the Sultan, the 'Ulama, and the people. The talents and good fortune of this able statesman fully justified the expectation of his country. His wise arrangements restored regularity to the finances; his judicious firmness required the aid of volunteers only to fill his ranks; and so rapidly did the bias of the public mind change, and his levies prepare for the field, that Kiuperli confidently promised victory to those who, a few weeks before, had sued for peace.

In the beginning of the spring of 1690, he marched on Hungary with an army of eighty thousand men. "The first

place attacked was Nissa, situated on the route from Belgrade to Sophia. This city is the only barrier beyond the river Morawa which can impede the advance of an enemy into the heart of the Turkish European provinces. The Count de Stahremberg defended it with six thousand men; but Kiuperli reduced the place after twenty-six days of siege. Important as its acquisition was, it was only preparatory to a far greater enterprise—the recovery of Belgrade. The Imperialists had employed their time and the resources of art to strengthen its fortifications; and a garrison of eight thousand Imperialists, added to the Bulgarians and Servians, betokened a protracted siege. Scarcely had the Grand Vizier surrounded the place, ere he was called on to calculate the chances of the approach of the Prince of Baden, who led an army to its assistance. The plan of Kiuperli embraced the scheme of resisting the passage of the river Save with part of his forces, while the remaining part were occupied before Belgrade. A splendid triumph, however, most unexpectedly crowned his plans; for a chance bomb, cast at hazard, fell on the chief magazine, which in a moment exploding into the air, destroyed a vast number of the troops, and levelled with the earth a long line of the walls. Kiuperli, profiting by the event, brought up his troops (enthusiastic at what they deemed a manifest interposition of the Prophet in their favour) to the assault, while the besieged, in hopeless consternation and disorder, thought only of flight; the breaches were large enough for whole squadrons to enter, and those of the garrison who survived after the terrible explosion, fled from the ramparts and the city, casting themselves into the numerous boats on the river, and placing the Danube between themselves and the enemy, so that the Ottomans found no combatants, but only mutilated carcasses buried amid the ruins. Never had Belgrade threatened such powerful resistance; never had such a conquest cost so little pains or bloodshed. The Vizier, become master of the place, employed immediately his vast forces, thus disengaged, to relieve and revictual Temeswaer, which had been defended by the brave Coja Giaffar Pasha, with the admirable patience and rare so-

briety which mark the Ottomans in the defence of their fortified towns. Famine had long preyed upon the troops and citizens, from which Kiuperli now hastened to relieve them; and the reduction of Lippa and of Orsowa, although deemed impregnable, crowned him with laurels.

"The Turks experienced a serious check in the siege of the strong town of Esseck, under Houssain Pasha; and the celebrated partisan Count Tököli, upon whom Solyman had bestowed the title of King of Hungary, after conquering and taking prisoner the imperial commander Heusler, was himself in turn driven from the whole province of Transylvania, and obliged to fly for safety into Wallachia. Notwithstanding the reverses before Esseck and in Transylvania, the glory of the campaign of 1691 was clearly the meed of Kiuperli, who, returning to Hadrianople, was triumphantly welcomed by his master Solyman, as the wise and skilful minister, who, after ten years of disaster and misfortune, had restored success and splendour to the Ottoman arms." *

Sultan Solyman II. did not live to enjoy the triumphs thus achieved. He died in June 1691.

* See Upham's history of Ottoman Empire, vol. ii., p. 181.

CHAPTER XXII.

A.D. 1691—1702.

Sultan Solyman II. succeeded by his brother Achmet II.—Campaign of 1691—Disastrous conflict with the German troops—The death of the Sultan—He is succeeded by Mustafa II.—His military undertakings—Reduction of Lippa—Battles with the army of Frederick Augustus—Attack on Peterwardein—Total defeat of Mustafa on the Thiess—Peace of Carlowitz—Aggressions of Russia—Mustafa II. compelled to abdicate in favour of his brother—His death.

SOLYMAN II., as already stated, was a studious and contemplative person. His long confinement in the seraglio had given him the habits of a recluse, and his people, during the brief period of his reign, regarded him more as a dervish than as a sovereign. On his death, no time was lost in proclaiming his brother Sultan, as Achmet II. Of this prince highly favourable anticipations were entertained. His character differed widely from that of his late brother. He was affable, lively, and cheerful in his disposition, an excellent scholar and poet, and possessed very considerable skill as a musician. His conduct towards his unhappy brother Mohammad IV., who was still in confinement at his accession, exhibits his character in a very amiable light. "In his jovial humours he would sometimes make visits to his disconsolate brother Mohammad, singing and playing before him with his instruments, bidding him be merry, and telling him he should not lament his fortune. 'I have been,' said he, 'a prisoner for forty years, during which time you were Sultan, and did what you pleased; now my time is come, and yours may return.' And then he would take his instruments, and play and sing, saying, 'brother, you have let me live, and so shall

you, and be merry!' And in this manner he would pass his time, to the great comfort of his deposed brother."*

As soon as the ceremonial was over, by which Achmet II. was confirmed in his throne, he sent to the Grand Vizier Kiuperli a new seal, a scimitar studded with jewels, and a vest of sables, as an evidence of the high esteem with which he was regarded, and of his being confirmed in office. Arrangements were immediately entered into for the prosecution of the war in Hungary, and the recovery of those possessions which had been wrested from the Ottoman Empire. The popularity of this able statesman was of the highest importance at this juncture. His administration strengthened the expectations of the people, and so revived the courage of the soldiers, that the number of volunteers who crowded to his standard was greater than he found it prudent or requisite to retain; and he was under the necessity of issuing orders to the Pashas of Asia to send him no more levies. While, however, his soldiers were devoted to him, the courtiers of Achmet became jealous of his power, and, although aware of his great value to the empire, intrigues were carried on for his destruction. His enemies contrived to lead the Sultan to believe that Kiuperli entertained a design against the throne, and had resolved to proclaim as Sultan, Mustafa, a son of Mohammad. Achmet, weakly giving credit to this report, issued an order for the attendance of the Grand Vizier at the palace, where the executioners were prepared to seize upon him as soon as he should enter. This conspiracy having been discovered by a mute who was in attendance on the Emperor, he hastened to Kiuperli, and conveyed to him by signs an intimation of his danger. He had scarcely time to give this intimation, before a summons arrived for the attendance of the Vizier at the seraglio. Kiuperli calmly ordered his horses to be prepared, desiring the Kiaia to intimate his instant obedience; but the officer had no sooner departed, than he sent for the Aga and commanders of the Janizaries, who were devotedly attached to him, and informing them of the danger by which he was beset, declared that by break of day he would quit the city and resign the seals, and

* Sir Paul Rycaut, vol. iii., p. 398.

concluded by entreating his friends to defend their country against the enemy. This unexpected information, and the address with which it was communicated, were sufficient to awaken the spirit of revolt; and the Janizaries resolved to shed their blood in defence of the Vizier, thus assuring him of his influence and safety.

A message was now transmitted to the Sultan, stating that as the Grand Vizier mounted his horse to proceed to the palace, he had been detained by a revolt among the troops, and that their anger seemed to be directed against some enemies about the Sultan's person. On the following day another message was sent to the Sultan, informing him that, unless he sent the Kislar-aga into banishment, and put his secretary to death, it was vain to attempt to pacify the army. Perceiving that his plot was discovered, the Kislar-aga hastened to make his escape, and having obtained from the Sultan his dismissal to Cairo, he immediately proceeded thither, carrying his treasures with him. The secretary was carried to the camp, and put to death by the soldiers.

Kiuperli was thus more firmly secured in his post than before, and immediately proceeded to open the campaign of 1691. At the head of a hundred thousand men, who were full of confidence under such a general, he reached Belgrade. Sixty-six thousand were at Peterwardein, under Prince Louis of Baden. The Grand Vizier was resolved to give battle to his enemy, and a most important conflict took place midway between Belgrade and Peterwardein.

"The Vizier had intrenched himself at Semlin, but construing the retreat of the Prince of Baden into fear, he pursued his army to Salenkemen. The morrow betokened a general battle, but the Ottomans, under favour of the night, gained a march on the Imperialists, by crossing their line of army at the distance of half a league, and cutting them off at one blow from all their magazines; they then fortified their position by cannon and redoubts. This skilful and rapid manœuvre was far above the general tactics of the Ottomans, and was probably prompted by some European officers, but the consequences were truly disastrous to the imperial army. A convoy of two hundred and fifty

chariots, despatched from Peterwardein to the old position of the army, was intercepted, and a reinforcement of five thousand men were descried as they were issuing forth from the forest, without any order or suspicion of danger; the whole corps, charged on all sides, had not even the power of forming, and were all killed or taken prisoners. This signal success no less encouraged the Ottomans than it dismayed the Imperialists, who were made spectators of the massacre of so many of their fellow comrades, without the power of helping or of revenging them; their communication with Peterwardein was cut off, and they were without magazines; their only resource or means of safety lay, therefore, in breaking the lines of a powerful army, intrenched behind a deep fosse, and sustained in the rear and left flank by the Danube. The valour of the Germans, and their confidence in their leader, inspired them with a noble despair; they marched up to the intrenchments, the Prince of Baden leading the right wing, and the Count de Dunewald the left. The artillery mowed down their ranks as they pressed onward to the works; the Janizaries kept up so heavy a fire as several times repulsed them; the assault was renewed for four hours until the night drew on, and most of the general officers were either killed or wounded. But the left wing was more successful. The Ottomans, leaving the cover of their intrenchments to pursue, endeavoured to take them in flank. This dangerous manœuvre laid them open to the Prince of Baden, who hastened to revive the courage of his troops; they at length forced their way to the heights of the Turkish position, where the cannon were placed. This success opened the road to the right wing, who carried, upon their side, the so long contested intrenchment; and the soldiers of Kiuperli, in their turn straitened by the Danube, began to give way. At this moment the Grand Vizier, indignant to see a victory already gained thus escape from him, advanced at the head of his reserve, charging the enemy, and exposing his person as the commonest Janizary; he had changed the aspect of the day, when a musket-ball struck the heroic Ottoman, and he expired without a sigh. Instantly the warlike music which

always precedes the Vizier, and continues to be heard amid the most furious attacks, ceased to beat; its silence proved to both armies the death of Kiuperli. The Imperialists redoubled their efforts and multiplied their attacks; a sudden terror seized the Turkish forces, who, abandoning their ranks, the rout became so general that none thought but of flight, and twenty-five thousand men, amongst whom were six thousand Janizaries, were slain or drowned in the Danube."

A hundred and fifty pieces of ordnance, ten thousand tents, and, superior to all, the splendid pavilion of the Vizier, with the treasures and stores of the whole Ottoman army, became the prey of the victors; the glory of the Prince of Baden was carried to the highest pitch, and the magnificent trophies are still exhibited, with pride and exultation, in the palace of Carlsruhe.*

The death of the Grand Vizier was an irreparable loss to the Ottoman Empire. He had, during his administration, proved himself the possessor of all the qualities most valuable in a minister of state, and seemed to combine the high endowments both of his father and grandfather, together with a degree of military skill, as well as personal courage, not surpassed by any of his most distinguished predecessors.

The remaining portion of the reign of Achmet II. is not marked by any event of high importance. He died in 1695, leaving a son who was only two years of age, and was succeeded by his nephew Mustafa, the son of the deposed Sultan.

This prince was thirty-three years of age at his accession. In his youth he had been in the camp with his father Mohammad IV., and the soldiers had an agreeable remembrance of him. "Ever since the deposition of his father, Mustafa had remained shut up in the seraglio; but in that interval his character had become powerful and vigorous. Nature had improved all his personal graces; and when, on the second day after his accession, he was seen environed with imperial pomp, traversing the streets of Hadrianople, proceeding to the mosque of Selim II., the Janizaries, ranked in double files,

* Upham, vol. ii., p. 188.

could not cease to admire his striking gait, the fire of his eye, the majesty and dignity expressed in his visage, and the grace with which he saluted the spectators as he passed, by pressing his hand on his heart, thus creating the most lively enthusiasm. They hailed his announced intention of continuing the war, and of leading them to battle; consequently, it was even heard without murmurs that the usual gratuity would be withheld: 'My treasury is empty,' said Mustafa; 'I have need of gold; and I shall employ it to defend my empire, and to repulse my enemies!'"*

The new Sultan soon made himself felt by the vigour and energy with which he applied himself to business; but it must be admitted that he rendered himself at the same time an object of extreme terror by his severity. Of this severity the deposition of the Muftee, who possessed a high reputation, the exile of the Sultana Fatima, and the Kislar-aga, and the death of the Grand Vizier, afforded sufficient illustrations.

Sultan Mustafa, however, united much prudence and discernment with the severity of his administration. It is true that he preferred his tutor to the office of Muftee, and that this man was considered unworthy of so great a degree of preferment; but the civil offices were filled by men highly qualified for their duties. From these circumstances the people drew the most favourable omens as to the future, and notwithstanding the extreme dissatisfaction which the disasters in Hungary and the Mediterranean had occasioned, sanguine expectations were entertained that, under the energetic rule of Mustafa, the losses which had been undergone would be fully retrieved.

The campaign of 1695 was opened by Mustafa II. at the head of fifty thousand men. Having crossed the Danube, he carried Lippa by assault. The Imperialists were commanded by the celebrated Frederic Augustus, Elector of Saxony, while the advanced guard, composed of seven thousand men, the choice of the army, was entrusted to Veterani, one of the Emperor's best officers. Apprised that this general was separated from the other Austrian divisions, Mustafa ordered the

* Upham, vol. ii., p. 194.

Begler-bey of Roumelia to cut off his retreat, while he followed with his remaining forces. The Sultan, at the head of the Janizaries and Spahees, began the attack in person; and although the seven thousand Imperialists were opposed to fifty thousand of the Ottomans, such was their valour, that they would have gained the battle, had not their brave leader been disabled by a wound. This decided the fortune of the day; the Imperialists retired unpursued by the Sultan, who lost in the encounter ten thousand men, and a great number of his best officers.'" That it might not appear a weakness on the part of the Sultan's forces, the Muftee was ordered to publish a fetva, declaring that "it is contrary to the Koran to pursue a vanquished enemy." Vexed at the result of this battle, the Sultan retreated to the Danube, and entering Wallachia by the defiles of Statina, recrossed the river to winter in Hadrianople.

Mustafa II. resolved in the following year to begin the campaign with redoubled energy, but the Elector of Saxony anticipated his movements by laying siege to Temeswaer. The Ottoman forces having marched to the support of this fortress, and the enemy finding that they were inferior in number to their opponents, raised the siege and entrenched themselves—a movement in which they were imitated by the Sultan's army. Frederick Augustus, however, determined to attack his enemy without delay, and during night his pioneers opened several passages towards the Turkish entrenchments, by which at break of day he advanced with his artillery to the attack. After a fierce and sanguinary struggle the entrenchments were carried by the assailants, who, penetrating to the Sultan's tent, and perceiving the rich spoil which awaited them, began the work of plunder. The Sultan, however, had ordered up his reserve, and their sudden appearance enabled him to rally the Janizaries and renew the defence. This unexpected circumstance threw the Imperialists into confusion, and the contest was only terminated by the darkness of the night. The loss on the side of the Turks amounted to more than eight thousand men, that of the Imperialists was much greater, and among the

slain were included many distinguished officers. Their whole artillery fell into the Sultan's hands.

The Elector was now under the necessity of acting on the defensive, being unable to obtain any reinforcement. Mustafa, therefore, leaving sufficient troops to observe the motions of the Imperialists, retired to Hadrianople, and subsequently entered Constantinople with great pomp, preceded by the cannon which had been taken in the battle with the Elector, and by numerous German captives.

It was at this period that the treaty of Ryswick was concluded between the Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV., and the English and Dutch ministers, aware of the importance of that measure, strongly advised the Sultan to render his success permanent by peace with Germany.

The Sultan, however, was too much elated by his recent victories, and notwithstanding those representations, resolved on another campaign. Accompanied by Tököli, who had assumed the title of King of Hungary, the Sultan marched from Belgrade in the spring of 1697 with an army of one hundred and thirty thousand men; scarcely half that number constituted the force of the enemy, but it was commanded by Prince Eugene. Tököli, whose health rendered him unfit for the duties of a campaign, persuaded Mustafa to pass into Transylvania, where he would be joined by fifty thousand malcontents; but the troops had hardly gone two days' march, before the Sultan became alarmed at a threatened attack on Belgrade, and therefore retraced his steps to the Danube. An attack on Peterwardein was unsuccessful; and the Sultan's forces marching on Zenta, a fortress on the Thiess, was followed by Prince Eugene, who supposed the Ottomans were in retreat. The prince's Hungarian hussars attacked and cut to pieces the Turkish advance posts, and the Vizier immediately resolved to risk a battle with the enemy. The Sultan and a few of the troops had meantime crossed the river, and strict orders were sent to the Vizier to hasten his passage without engaging the enemy. The Sultan even ordered him to sacrifice his baggage in order to cross the river; but the Vizier, con-

cluding that his death was resolved upon by his royal master, whatever might be the event, determined to die sword in hand, and, suppressing the Sultan's orders, prepared to receive the enemy.

Prince Eugene hastened to profit by the disorder of his adversaries, whose forces were divided, part being on both sides of the river. His front attack, skilfully made, was accompanied by a flank movement of one of his columns, unperceived by the Turks, who were thus placed between two fires. The Janizaries, perceiving the gross mismanagement and consequent ruin to which they were exposed, became frantic, and attacking their own officers, massacred them on the spot, together with the Vizier and his followers. Thus deprived of leaders, the confusion of the scene was redoubled, and, after a few hours of carnage, the remainder of the army took to flight. Covered with wounds, one of the Pashas alone saved himself by plunging with his charger into the river, and swimming to the opposite shore. In this battle the Ottomans lost more than thirty thousand men, and the Grand Vizier and fifteen Pashas of high rank, the whole of the artillery, military stores, and baggage of immense value. The Sultan fled in disguise to Temeswaer, with the mournful remnant of the magnificent army which he had so lately commanded, and ultimately betook himself to Hadrianople in profound melancholy, conscious of the utter loss of the high esteem which his previous successes had gained him.

The Imperialists were resolved to prosecute the advantage which the signal victory on the banks of the Theiss had given them, and Prince Eugene hastened to pass the Save into Bosnia, where in the space of a month he took possession of a number of fortresses as well as the city of Bosna-Serai.

The peace of Carlowitz in 1699 put an end to this long and destructive war. By this treaty the territories of the contending parties were distinctly marked. The empire of the Sultan was limited by the Dniester, the Save, and the Unna. Hungary was given to Leopold, along with Transylvania and Esclavonia; Podolia, the Ukraine, and the fortress Kaminiek, were assigned to the Poles; and the Venetians

retained the Morea, with a strong frontier in Dalmatia. This treaty was of the greatest moment to the Ottoman Empire, deprived as it was, by the late disastrous events, of its bravest and most skilful defenders.

Russia, however, was now arming by sea and land; her troops were becoming acquainted with European tactics; she was erecting forts along the line of the Dnieper; and manifesting that aggressive policy for which she has ever since been distinguished, and which in subsequent years tended so greatly to enlarge the territories of that vast empire.

Mustafa II. soon found it to be in vain to attempt to retain his crown, the Janizary force having resolved that it should be transferred to his brother Achmet. The Sultan might have put this prince to death, and thus have secured, in a great measure, the possession of power, but greatly to his credit the atrocious examples of fratricide, too often given in the royal family, had no weight with him, and in 1702 he voluntarily placed his sceptre in his brother's hands. Proceeding to the apartments of the prince, he embraced him tenderly, acquainted him with the wishes of his people, and saluted him as Sultan. "Remember, my brother," he said, "that I have reigned, and that I have allowed you a portion of liberty and enjoyment; and I beseech you now, to feel the same tenderness towards me. As the son and brother of Sultans, you are worthy of the throne; but never forget that you owe all your elevation to traitors and rebels; should you pass their perfidy by unpunished, they will eventually act towards you, as they have treacherously done to me." Having thus laid down his authority, Sultan Mustafa sank into a state of melancholy, and survived his abdication but a few months.

CHAPTER XXIII.

A. D. 1702—1730.

Achmet III. succeeds his brother Mustafa—State of Europe—Dispute between Charles XII. of Sweden and the Czar, &c.—Peter the Great lays siege to Narva—Battle of Narva—Career of Charles XII. He proceeds to the Ukraine—Treaty with Mazeppa—Fatal battle of Pultowa—War between Turkey and Russia—The Turkish forces cross the Danube—The Czar hastens from Moscow to meet them—Danger of the Russian army—Its rescue—Treaty of the Pruth—Charles XII.—War with Austria—Prince Eugene defeats the Vizier State of Persia—Nadir Shah defeats the Ottomans—Cruel order of the Vizier—Abdication of Achmet III.

AT the period of the accession of Achmet III., most of the European states, with the exception of Turkey, were engaged in war. The house of Bourbon contested with that of Austria the Spanish succession, and England and Holland joined in the struggle. It became, therefore, an object of great importance to the French that the powerful influence of the Ottoman Empire should be enlisted in their cause, as greater facility would be obtained in carrying on the war were the forces of Austria occupied on the Danube by those of Turkey. Achmet III., however, had sufficient wisdom to avoid a war, and contented himself with permitting the various belligerents to waste their strength and resources by mutual hostilities. Several years thus elapsed, during which comparative tranquillity prevailed in the Ottoman Empire. Passing over the minor incidents of that period, our attention is attracted by those connected with two celebrated personages who now appeared, and acted a most conspicuous part in Europe in the beginning of the last cen-

tury—the heroic king of Sweden, Charles XII., and the no less famous Peter the Great of Russia. An outline of some of the events in which they were actors is requisite to explain the incidents in the history of Turkey associated with their names.

On the eastern shores of the Baltic, the whole of the province of Revel or Esthonia, and almost all the adjoining provinces of Riga or Livonia, had been ceded by the Poles to Charles XI. of Sweden. This cession of territory, however, was made with the reservation of certain rights and privileges; but Charles XI. paid little regard to such reservations, notwithstanding the strong representations which were made to him in 1692. When Frederick Augustus was elected to the throne of Poland, he resolved to recover the territories which had thus been wrested from that country by Sweden, and in this object he was supported by a party in the provinces themselves. Riga and Revel had formerly belonged to Russia, and Peter the Great also resolved to take them out of the hands of the Swedish monarch. The principal person among those who had been deputed to request the removal of the grievances under which the provinces had been suffering, contrived to create a union between the Czar and the King of Poland for this purpose, and they resolved upon invading all the dependencies of Sweden on the east of the Baltic.

Accordingly in 1700, an alliance having been entered into between the two monarchs and the King of Denmark against Sweden, Peter the Great marched into Ingria with an army of nearly eighty thousand men, and a train of artillery of one hundred and forty-five pieces of cannon, and laid siege to Narva, a small town in that province. Charles XII. of Sweden was then only eighteen years of age. On learning the proceedings of Russia, he appeared in Esthonia with an army of only nine thousand men, twice defeated a body of Russians sent against him, and hastened to the relief of Narva, which was on the point of surrendering. Here he encountered the whole force of the enemy, whose number was nearly nine times greater than that of his own troops, and totally defeated them in one of the most remarkable

battles ever recorded in the pages of history. For several years after this period the most signal success attended the army of the hero-king of Sweden. In every encounter with his enemy he was successful. Victory after victory, gained under the most difficult circumstances, attested the extraordinary military skill as well as personal strength and activity by which this celebrated monarch was distinguished.

It was natural that the victorious career of this hero should attract the attention of Achmet III. The Swedish king had dethroned Frederick Augustus, the Sultan's implacable enemy, and had placed the sceptre of Poland in the hand of Stanislaus Leczinski. The moment seemed to the Ottoman Porte therefore propitious, as affording an opportunity, by means of the friendship of Charles and of Stanislaus, of fortifying himself against his natural enemies, the Russian Czar and the German Emperor. Accordingly, an ambassador was despatched in 1707 to meet the Swedish king, carrying with him a present, which was far from unacceptable to that martial prince. It consisted of 100 Swedish soldiers, who had been taken prisoners by the Calmucs, and had been purchased by the Sultan. Charles was too politic not to receive with courtesy the advances of the Sultan, foreseeing, as he did, in the alliance, an additional means of carrying out his own views. The ambassador was graciously received, the liberated prisoners accepted with thankfulness, and a good understanding was thus established between the Swedish king and the Sultan.

From this period the history of Charles XII. exhibits a course of uninterrupted success for several years. His active and able foe the Czar had been always aware of the inferiority of his own troops compared with those of Charles, but he was constantly engaged in instructing them in the art of war, and the many practical lessons which the brave Swedes and their heroic leader afforded them, were gradually raising them to a level with their enemies.

Charles XII., while, in the course of his victorious career, he was on his way to Moscow, instead of pursuing his plan of attacking the Russian capital, directed his course southwards towards the Ukraine, the country of the Cossacks. It

is probable that, as his army began to be in want of supplies, he expected to obtain them in that country, and he had some reason to know that he might there be enabled to adopt measures conducive to his interests.

The people of the Ukraine, although always desirous of liberty, were never powerful enough to stand alone, and were under the necessity of placing themselves under the protection of Russia, Poland, or Turkey. They had originally placed themselves under the care of Poland, but were treated with great severity. They then submitted themselves to Russia, but found themselves governed with equally despotic sway. The privilege they had enjoyed of electing a prince under the name of general had been taken from them, and their general was nominated at Moscow.

When Charles XII. marched into the country of the Cossacks, its general or prince was Mazeppa, a gentleman of Podolia. The history of this celebrated person is sufficiently remarkable to have attracted the attention of one of our most distinguished poets, whose fine genius has highly adorned the story of the Cossack Hetman. Mazeppa, some years previously, had excited the jealousy of a Polish gentleman, who resolved to exact a terrible revenge. Having seized his victim, he had him stripped naked, and having bound him to a wild horse, let the animal go. The horror of such a situation may be imagined. The horse was a powerful animal, bred in the territory of the Ukraine, and in rage and terror it bore its unresisting burden through the woods and valleys, and over the rivers and mountains into its native plains. Half-dead with hunger and fatigue, the wild steed could bear his rider no further, and Mazeppa, still alive, was unbound by the astonished country people, and furnished with clothing and food. He repaid their hospitality by signalizing himself in various excursions against the Tartars, and in defending his now adopted country. His reputation at length so increased, that the Czar found it requisite to nominate him as the Hetman or Prince of the Ukraine.

Being at table with Peter the Great at Moscow, Mazeppa received an insult which threw him into the hands of Charles

XII. The Czar proposed to him to discipline the Cossacks, so as to render them more dependent. Mazeppa, however, declared that the effort to do so would be vain, because of the nature of the country, which presented insuperable obstacles to such an undertaking. The Czar instantly became enraged, and calling Mazeppa a traitor, threatened to have him impaled.

The Hetman returned to his government, resolved to render the Ukraine independent. Although he was now advanced in life, he was still as indefatigable and enterprising, as he was skilful and brave. The approach of Charles XII. of Sweden, and the knowledge he possessed of that monarch's extraordinary military talent, as well as his success against the Czar, confirmed him in his purpose, and he hastened to enter into a secret league with him, in order to advance the object he had in view.

King Charles XII. appointed a place of meeting on the banks of the Desna, a river which falls into the Dnieper, in the western boundary of the province of Pultowa, having resolved to winter in the Ukraine, and pursue his campaign early in the following spring. The difficulties which the Swedish army encountered before meeting with Mazeppa were such as would have completely appalled any ordinary military force. The Ukrainian leader at length appeared, but more like a fugitive than a powerful ally. The Russians had discovered his intentions, and an army had attacked him. His towns had been reduced to ruins, his treasures plundered, the provisions he had prepared for the Swedes carried off, and he himself had escaped with six thousand men with the utmost difficulty. The difficulties of the gallant King of Sweden soon further increased, by the defeat of that portion of his army which followed him, under his general Levenhaupt. After passing the winter exposed to repeated encounters with the troops of the Czar, Charles XII. found himself, in the following April, possessed of an army of only eighteen thousand Swedes, and with the aid he received from the Zaporavians, the Cossacks, and the Wallachians, he had a force of about thirty thousand men. With these he laid siege to Pultowa, the capture of which

was of the utmost consequence, the place containing, as it did, a large magazine of all things requisite for the supply of his army.

The total defeat of the army of Sweden at Pultowa turned the tide of fortune which hitherto had flowed towards Charles XII. After this terrible battle the Swedish monarch, still in spirit indomitable, made his way into the Ottoman dominions, and fixed his residence at Bender in Bessarabia. The policy of the Ottoman court had induced it to regard with satisfaction the successes of Charles, but the decisive battle of Pultowa compelled Achmet firmly to adhere to the treaty of Carlowitz. Charles, however, expected to succeed in creating a war between Russia and Turkey, and for that purpose his secret agents at Constantinople were constantly labouring to bring about a rupture between these two great empires.

The efforts made for this purpose were, however, ineffectual; and it is to a circumstance of an accidental character that the war which again burst forth between them must be ascribed. The Czar, desirous to prolong the truce which had existed, sent an embassy for that purpose to Constantinople by sea. The Russian squadron cast anchor before the walls of the seraglio, and thus deeply wounded the pride of the Sultan, by boldly approaching those waters which exclusively pertained to the Sublime Porte.

Achmet, irritated at what he considered an unwarrantable proceeding, immediately sent the Grand Vizier to obtain an explanation from the Russian envoy. The excuses, however, which that functionary made were disregarded, the party in the seraglio being all for war. But the treasury of the Sultan was empty, and although the sinews of war were thus wanting, the Grand Vizier Kiuperli, a grandson of the celebrated Achmet Kiuperli, and a man of inflexible integrity, refused to impose any new taxes. This offended the Sultan. The Vizier was compelled to give in his resignation, and Mohammad Baltadgi was appointed to the office. War was then declared between the two empires, and, according to custom, the Russian ambassador was thrown into the prison of the Seven Towers. Orders were given to the Khan of

Tartary to march with his predatory hordes, and the Vizier assembled at Hadrianople two hundred thousand men to commence the campaign against the forces of the Czar, and having crossed the Danube, marched towards Bessarabia.

When the Czar received intelligence of these measures he left Moscow, and having given orders that the siege of Riga should be turned into a blockade, assembled an army of eighty thousand men on the frontiers of Poland, many of these veteran soldiers which had seen service in the wars of Charles XII., and with this army having marched into Moldavia, in June 1711 gained the banks of the Pruth near Jassy, the capital of that province. Relying on the secret treaty made with Cantemir the Waywode of Moldavia, Peter the Great entertained no doubt of obtaining those supplies of provision of which his army was now in extreme want.

But as sometimes happens, the interests or the sympathies of the people differed from those of their prince. The Moldavians were highly favourable to the Turkish government, which had, as a general rule, treated them with a degree of lenity and consideration, which contrasted favourably with the severity they had often experienced from the Russians. They resolved, therefore, that they would transfer to the Ottoman army, the supplies which the Waywode had intended for the Russian troops, and in this respect, their example was followed by the Wallachians.

The Czar now found himself, by relying on Prince Cantemir, placed in a position not less critical than that into which Charles XII. had so recently fallen, by relying on the assurances of Mazeppa. His immense army was destitute of forage and provisions, and their efforts to obtain possession of the magazines which had been prepared were fruitless. The river Pruth behind him cut off his retreat; in front he was menaced by the Ottoman force of one hundred and fifty thousand men in a strongly intrenched position, and on the right and left he was harassed by an army of forty thousand Tartars; while the batteries erected by the enemy on the banks of the river, cut off the supply of water from his army. No condition could be more hopeless than that to which the Czar

found himself thus reduced. He perceived himself in the condition of being forced to adopt one or other of the desperate alternatives of permitting his army to be destroyed by famine, or of attacking a hundred and eighty thousand men, with an army already diminished to about half their original number, and feeble and dispirited with hunger, fatigue, and the unavoidable sense of the danger of the situation in which they found themselves placed.

The latter was obviously the only measure suited to the exigency of the moment, and Peter having issued his orders for an attack early in the morning on the entrenched camp of the Turks, and the immediate destruction of all the baggage of his troops, retired to his tent in a state of despair, and anticipating the inevitable destruction of his whole army.

The inventive energy of the female mind in moments of sudden peril, has often been remarked by the moralist. The unquestionable superiority over man, which in this respect the weaker sex exhibits, affords a beautiful illustration of that Divine beneficence which endows those possessed of comparatively little physical strength with a power which in a great degree compensates for the necessary deficiency. In the very crisis of its fate, when the sagacity of even Peter the Great saw not one ray of hope, the Russian army was saved from certain destruction by the Empress Catherine.

This extraordinary woman had accompanied her husband in all his campaigns. In this moment of despondency, far from deeming that all was lost, she advised the Czar to offer a treaty of peace to the Grand Vizier, accompanied by such concessions as were likely to gain his assent. It was, however, not without difficulty that she prevailed. The Czar saw that the condition to which he was reduced must be fully known to his adversary, and considered it vain to make an attempt to obtain peace with a general in whose power it was to annihilate his whole army. Catherine, however, was resolute in her purpose, and at length succeeded in persuading him to pursue the only course now remaining whereby to escape the inevitable destruction which must have resulted from the approaching conflict.

Having arranged the preliminaries, she despatched an envoy to the Turkish camp with a present of her own jewels and gold, and all the funds that could be collected from the officers of the army. It was a happy circumstance for the Russians that the Vizier was not a soldier. Had Kiuperli commanded the Ottoman troops, the career of the Czar would, in all human probability, have terminated at this point of his history. Peter the Great, waiting impatiently till break of day without receiving any reply, drew out his army, and prepared for the attack. The signal to advance was, it is said, actually given, when a messenger from the Vizier arrived, consenting to a suspension of arms, and with instructions to accept the proposed treaty. The Russian Vice-Chancellor immediately proceeded to the Grand Vizier's pavilion, and the treaty so momentous to Russia was completed. By the conditions of this arrangement, the Turkish Empire regained the possession of the fortress of Azof, and the Czar agreed to burn all the galleys that lay in the harbour of that fortress, and to demolish the citadels built on the shores of the Sea of Azof, to deliver all the cannon and ammunition of those fortresses into the hands of the Sultan, to withdraw his troops from Poland, to make no further attack upon those Cossacks who were subjects of Turkey, and to pay the Tartars an annual subsidy of forty thousand sequins. On these extremely easy terms Peter was allowed to retire with all his army, artillery, colours, and baggage; and the Turks having supplied his wants, he had abundance of provisions an hour after the treaty was signed.

Peter did not delay a moment in availing himself of the opportunity of escape thus afforded him. He immediately passed with his whole army over the Pruth, and the danger which threatened him was at an end. It was wise policy to take instant advantage of the treaty. A special messenger had been sent to Charles XII. who was still at Bender, and who hastened with a few followers to witness the downfall of his great adversary. The last division of the Czar's forces had just quitted their perilous situation, and were marching off with drums beating and colours flying, when the King of Sweden, who had ridden one hundred and fifty miles, from

Bender to Jassy, without resting, arrived, expecting to be gratified by witnessing the complete overthrow of his rival and enemy.

He was unable to gain the Turkish army without passing the Pruth by a bridge, which was nine miles off, and being too impatient to endure the additional suspense, he swam across the river at the risk of being drowned, and even traversed the Russian camp at the hazard of being made prisoner. The rage of the Swede knew no bounds when he became aware of the state of matters. He beheld an opportunity for the utter extinction of his powerful enemy lost, never to be regained. Overwhelmed with the keenest disappointment, Charles hastily entered the pavilion of the Grand Vizier, and bitterly reproached him with his folly. "I have a right," said Baltadgi with calmness, "either to make war or peace." "But," added the king, "you had the whole Russian army completely in your power." "Our law commands us," said the Vizier, "to grant peace to our enemies when they implore our mercy." "But," resumed the king with impetuosity, "does your law command you to make a bad treaty, when you have an opportunity of exacting any conditions you please? Had you not the means of seizing on the Czar himself, and carrying him a prisoner to Constantinople."

Unable to reply by any valid argument to these indignant remonstrances, the Turkish minister added, "and who in that case would have governed his empire in his absence. It is not proper that kings should leave their dominions." To this puerile excuse, the impatient Swede made no reply but by an expression of the utmost contempt, and as he threw himself on a sofa in a fit of rage, he struck his spur into the Vizier's robes and tore them. The minister, however, did not notice the insult, having either from habit or apathy kept his temper, and Charles XII. soon after returned with the utmost chagrin to his residence at Bender.

The pusillanimity of the Turkish commander on this remarkable occasion, affords a striking evidence of that increasing inferiority which the Turkish army afterwards so strikingly manifested. Those reverses which had overthrown so many

Sultans and Viziers, were present to the remembrance of Baltadgi, and he dreaded the attack of an army urged onward by famine and despair. In the former days of Ottoman greatness, the Amuraths and the Selims, would have rejoiced in such an opportunity of signally defeating their enemies; but now the spirits of the Turkish hosts had fled, and nothing supplied its place but the irregular onsets of unsteady violence. Whilst, however, the Vizier balanced the certain benefits secured by the treaty against the possibilities of a defeat, his Kiaia, Osman-ăga, over whom the gold of Catherine really possessed a preponderating ascendancy, succeeded in infusing his own well-dissembled terrors into the predisposed mind of his master. The events which followed this treaty are rather matters of civil intrigue than details of history, and would scarcely deserve notice, but from their being associated with the name of Charles of Sweden.

Intelligence of the peace was received at the capital with great rejoicing. Achmet was pleased to have reaped the fruits of success without the danger of war; but Charles' agents were busily occupied in the capital. The Sultana warmly espoused the cause of the Swedish monarch, and spoke in admiring terms of his prowess. Baltadgi the Grand Vizier, in consequence of the communications which thus reached the Sultan's ears, was sent into exile. His Kiaia, the guilty Osman-aga, was. decapitated. The Waywode of Wallachia, Brancovani, whose policy was not understood, was dragged to the Seven Towers, and, with all his family, eventually condemned to die. The Muftee pressed upon the Wallachian prince and his family the alternative of pardon and release, on their abjuration of Christianity; but Brancovani and his consort, rejecting the terms, beheld with unshrinking constancy three of their race beheaded before their eyes; the fourth and youngest, sprinkled with his brothers' blood, and sinking under the horrors of the scene, exclaimed that he would accept the proffered terms, and the execution, therefore, was stayed during the time requisite to acquaint the Sultan with this circumstance; but Achmet, disdaining a conversion which the immediate fear of death alone had pro-

duced, rejected the plea, and the hapless young prince was executed. Brancovani perished next, bewailing to his last breath, not his own misfortunes, but the weakness of his youngest born; lastly, the fate of the Wallachian princess filled up the horrid tragedy by her strangulation. These horrors appear to have awakened an unusual sympathy even among the obdurate Ottomans; for to this hour the death of Prince Brancovani and his family is the story which is dwelt upon to the visitor of the Seven Towers.* Youssouf, Aga of the Janizaries, who had risen gradually from the lowest offices of the state, was now appointed Vizier. Being the creature of Ali Courmourdgi, a favourite of the Sultan, he failed not to adopt the Russian interest, which Ali protected; but the Czar had ungratefully delayed to perform the articles of the treaty to which he owed his safety; and as a consequence of his interfering on the side of Russia, Youssouf was put to death. The King of Sweden entertained the expectation that the removal of the Grand Vizier Youssouf would be highly favourable to his favourite project, that of having war declared against Russia, by which he should obtain assistance in attacking his great opponent. Considerable influence was used at the Sultan's court for this purpose. The Sultana Valide, who, in common with all the people of Turkey, admired the heroic valour of the Swedish King, called him her lion, and importuned the Sultan, her son, to help her "lion to devour the bear." Ali Courmourdgi, the Sultan's favourite adviser, successfully opposed every effort made on this subject; and at the same time the Czar renewed his promises to accomplish what the treaty demanded, and sent at the same time presents to the Sultan's ministers, by which the threatened danger was averted.

The conduct of the Swedish monarch at this period is too well known to readers of history to require particular description. His obstinacy in refusing to leave the Ottoman dominions, although he had little or no reason to believe that the Sultan would go to war for his sake; his defence of his residence at Bender with a few resolute followers against six

* Upham's History, vol. ii., p. 230.

thousand Turkish soldiers, who were most reluctantly compelled to attack him; the magnanimous conduct of the Sultan towards his extraordinary guest; and the method by which Charles travelled from Turkey, when at last he found his efforts unavailing—are incidents which have been minutely detailed by historians.* Omitting, therefore, particular reference to these incidents, let us notice those of a more important character.

The peace, which at this period existed between the Sultan and the other European princes, was now broken by the resolution of the former to regain possession of the Morea, which had passed into the hands of the Venetians. A large fleet assembled at the harbour of Constantinople under the Ottoman admiral, two hundred thousand men gathered together at Hadrianople, and the arrest of the Venetian envoy, announced the approaching war. The general of the Republic, Delphino, had only eight thousand men with whom to defend the province, and, how brave soever, those troops must have yielded to their powerful adversaries, had not Charles VI. of Germany, who had guaranteed the peace of Carlowitz, interposed, and as the rejection of his suggestions brought on the Sultan the weight of the German armies, the reduction of the Morea became a secondary consideration.

The operations of the Austrian army were directed by the military talent of Prince Eugene, and the Ottoman troops were guided by the inexperienced Courmourdgi Ali, who was desirous to signalize himself by some brilliant action, and presumptuously despised his great opponent. The two hostile armies met near the city of Peterwardein, where the last peace had been concluded. Prince Eugene took possession of the same lines as had in 1694 been employed against the same enemies, and the Grand Vizier began the struggle by besieging him in his entrenched camp. Having no fear of being turned in their position, the Imperialists issued forth to the encounter, and for a time the impetuosity of their opponents overwhelmed their right wing, and pierced through the first entrenchments. Two field-marshals were slain, and the

* See Voltaire's History of Charles XII.

Vizier believed the victory to be gained, when Count de Palfy arrived at the head of the imperial cavalry, and the renewed resistance of the foot soldiers, at once threw the Ottoman troops into disorder. Courmourdgi, who saw the fatal turn of the battle, threw himself at the head of a band of followers upon the foe, and was fatally wounded. His adherents carried him to Carlowitz, where he died the next day in transports of rage at the loss sustained. The spoils seized by the Germans were immense. The magnificent tent of the Vizier became the prize of Prince Eugene; and the reduction of the city of Temeswaer resulted from this campaign.

The campaign opened the year following with renewed vigour. Prince Eugene, accompanied by a number of Christian nobles, found himself at the head of an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. The force of the Ottomans was equally strong, although the plague had raged in the capital, and the 'Ulama and Divan were opposed to the war. The same fatal results which had characterised the campaign of the preceding year were again displayed, notwithstanding the valour and experience of the new Grand Vizier Atchi Ali, the successor of Courmourdgi.

Prince Eugene resolved to gain possession of Belgrade, which was defended by thirty thousand Turks. When the imperial troops had invested the city, the Ottoman army made their appearance, and the German forces, as at Peterwardein, were besieged in their own entrenchments. The Prince, however, resolved to give his enemy battle, and at daybreak his columns marched out of their entrenchments, and furiously attacked the army of the Vizier, which, notwithstanding the most gallant defence, was completely defeated, leaving all their stores, baggage, and artillery to the victors. This battle decided the fate of Belgrade, which immediately surrendered, and this loss on the part of the Sultan was followed by the surrender of other fortresses, which the reduction of Belgrade rendered no longer tenable.

Achmet now found it requisite to sue for peace with Germany; but the demands made by the Emperor were

exorbitant. He required the cession of Servia, Bosnia, and part of Moldavia as far as the Dniester. These demands the Sultan had no means of resisting, but the European war, now kindled by the court of Philip V. of Spain, enabled the Sultan to attain peace with the Emperor on easier terms. The treaty of Passarowitz—so called from a small town in Servia—between Austria, Venice, and the Ottoman Porte, was accordingly concluded; and thus in 1718 a portion of Servia, the Banat, and part of Bosnia, were ceded to Austria, together with Belgrade and Temeswaer, as well as the free navigation of the Danube; and the Venetians retained possession of their territories in the Morea.

The events which now took place in the East exercised an important influence on the affairs of the Turkish Empire. Hussain, the Shah of Persia, who was the contemporary of Achmet III., was a prince of weak intellect. The fierce races, with whom the districts, desolated by the wars of Tamerlane, had been peopled, revolted against their imbecile monarch, and, under the command of Merveis, assembled and marched to the Persian capital, and compelled the Shah to bestow his daughter in marriage upon Merveis. Thamas Khan, however, the youngest of the Persian princes, having collected an army, disputed with the utmost valour the possession of his hereditary dominions with the insurgents, and at length a new revolution issued in the death of Merveis, and the succession of his cousin Ashraff to his authority and his pretensions.

These civil commotions in Persia afforded an opportunity of aggrandizement of which the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia were not slow to avail themselves. The former succeeded in adding very considerably to the extent of his empire in the East. Georgia and Armenia became a part of his dominions, which, by the acquisition of the provinces of Erivan and Nakshivan, and the mountainous districts of the Tauris, were extended to the lake of Ouramia, while the Pasha of Baghdad was no less successful in his conquests. Ashraff, willing to make any sacrifice to obtain the throne of Persia, now offered to secure to Achmet III.

the important conquests his army had achieved; and an arrangement was concluded in 1726, by which that usurper gained possession of the object of his ambition, and ceded to Turkey the provinces acquired by her arms. These arrangements were not destined to be of long continuance. The celebrated conquerer Nadir Shah, a man of extraordinary talents, courage, and military skill, quickly changed the aspect of affairs in the East. Ashraff had scarcely seated himself on the Persian throne, before he was driven from it by Nadir, by whom he was put to death, and the Sultan was called upon by the Persian conqueror to restore the territories which had been so recently ceded to him. The proposal was however rejected with scorn, and both empires prepared to decide the question by an appeal to arms. The result was fatal to the pretensions of Achmet. The armies which he speedily collected and despatched to the East were exterminated by the warlike Shah; and the territories, the acquisition of which had shed a momentary lustre on the Ottoman arms, passed again into the possession of the sovereigns of Persia.

An incident which now took place was mainly instrumental in bringing the reign of Achmet III. to a termination. Nadir Shah had ordered three hundred of his Turkish prisoners to be deprived of their ears and noses, and sent back to Constantinople, as an evidence of the vengeance he had taken on account of the cruelties practised by the Ottoman armies in their recent invasion. The order was accomplished, and the mutilated prisoners were embarked in a vessel, to be conveyed to the Turkish capital. The Grand Vizier, however, unwilling that so manifest a proof of the unsuccessful issue of the Persian war, and at the same time so great an insult to the empire, should be publicly exhibited, issued a private order that the vessels in which the unfortunate soldiers were returning home should be sunk on their passage. This inhuman act was perpetrated.

There remained, however, one living witness of the atrocity in the person of Ali Patrona, who, returning to the city, made known among the Janizaries the monstrous cruelty which had been committed by express orders from the Vizier Ibra-

him. The consequences of this revelation was immediate. The Janizaries and the populace became infuriated, and before four and twenty hours had passed, a revolutionary movement took place. The troops proceeded to their wonted extremes; the chief officers of state were seized by them and put to death; and Achmet III. soon perceived that his power was at an end. He resolved to imitate the conduct of Sultan Mustafa towards himself, and proceeding to the apartments of his nephew Mahmoud, he saluted him as Sultan, and voluntarily withdrew into retirement, thus terminating his reign by abdication in 1730, after exercising the supreme power for twenty-seven years, and exhibiting qualities which ought to have assured him of the confidence and the gratitude of his subjects.

CHAPTER XXIV.

A.D. 1730—1754.

Achmet III. succeeded by his nephew Mahmoud I.—Fate of the rebel Patrona—Early history of the Grand Vizier Osman—Continuance of the war with Persia—Nadir Shah defeated by Osman—Final result of the struggle—War with Russia—Count de Bonneval—Defeat of Count Seckendorf and the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen by the Grand Vizier—The treaty of Belgrade—Peace with Russia Death of the Emperor of Germany—Gradual advances of Russia—Death of Mahmoud I.—His character.

THE abdication of Sultan Achmet III. was hailed by his fickle people with as great satisfaction, as if by that event they had suddenly been liberated from the grasp of a tyrant, and the accession of Mahmoud I. was made an occasion of national rejoicing, although his qualifications for the high office to which he had attained had never been tested, and therefore could not merit public confidence.

Ali Patrona, who had been the principal agent in the revolution, which had placed the new sovereign on the throne of his ancestors, exercised during the state of public excitement necessarily accompanying so great a political change, the whole executive power, and that in the most despotic manner. He directed at the same time all his efforts towards securing his influence over the populace and the Janizaries. As, however, the public excitement ceased, the Janizaries, quitting the Atmeidan in which they had been encamped, retired to their Odas; and as the course of public affairs fell into their usual channel, the influence of Patrona and his confederates rapidly diminished. Sultan Mahmoud, although he owed the possession of the throne to the revolutionary pro-

ceedings which this man had originated, was nevertheless resolved that he should not escape punishment. A favourable opportunity was afforded for this object by the return of the Capitan Pasha and the fleet into the harbour. Patrona and his two followers, Mousla and Ali, were summoned to the divan on business of importance. On their appearance, the Grand Vizier announced that the three associates were appointed to pashaliks; and as Patrona, well knowing the peril which accompanied such a destination, was about to reject the proposed dignity, the Capitan Pasha, at a signal given him, drew his scimitar, and in an instant Patrona lay headless on the pavement. His followers shared his fate at the same moment. The revolutionary spirit, however, was far from being wholly subdued, and in the course of a few months afterwards it was discovered that extensive preparations had been formed for a general insurrection. This danger, however, was promptly averted by the energy of Topal Osman, Pasha of Silistria, who was promoted to the office of Grand Vizier.

The history of Osman prior to his arrival at the high dignity to which he had thus been promoted is extremely interesting, and places his character and talents in a most favourable light. Thirty-two years before, when at the age of twenty-five, he had been entrusted by Sultan Mustafa II. with a commission to be executed at Grand Cairo, and had accordingly sailed for Alexandria. His vessel, however, was attacked on her passage by a Spanish corsair, and after a desperate resistance, the ship and her crew were captured and carried to Malta. Here Osman and his companions in misfortune were exposed for sale as slaves. A native of Marseilles named Arniaud, on visiting the market, became highly interested in the fate of Osman, whose personal qualities and nobleness of mien attracted his attention. He addressed the youthful Muslim, and expressed to him the sentiments of pity and interest with which he was inspired. "As you are moved by my condition," said the captive, "perform a noble action. Pay the price demanded for me, and give me my liberty. You shall not repent of it." The bene-

volent Frenchman found that the corsair demanded a thousand sequins for his captive, but contrived to bring down the price to six hundred, which he immediately paid, and generously gave the Muslim his liberty. Having returned to his native country, Osman rose from one office to another, until appointed to the important situation of Pasha of Silistria. The favourable opinion which the generous Marseillois had formed was fully justified by the result. Osman exhibited the liveliest gratitude towards the man to whom he owed his escape from a life of slavery and degradation. In every step of his distinguished career he manifested his regard for his benefactor; and when at length raised to the highest office in the state, that of Grand Vizier, his first thought was of the benevolent Arniaud. He invited him to Constantinople, and on his arrival embraced him with the tenderest affection, presented him to his friends as the man to whom he was indebted for the highest of earthly blessings, the possession of freedom. Arniaud became an object of interest to all the dependents of the prime minister; and after enjoying the well-merited reward of his disinterested benevolence, he returned to France loaded with presents.

Osman had distinguished himself as an active and skilful general during the period which had elapsed since his restoration to his native country, and full employment now awaited him on his advancement to the office of prime minister. The war with Persia still continued, and the Sultan, who from policy had adopted the plan of permitting his chief officers to hold their appointments only for a brief period, placed Osman over the army of the East, opposed to Nadir Shah. Osman marched toward Baghdad with one hundred and fifty thousand men, and totally defeated the hitherto victorious forces of the Persians. In a second battle Nadir was no less signally overthrown, and so greatly was he disheartened, that he found it necessary to sue for peace. Osman, however, did not agree to a cessation of hostilities.

While he was thus engaged in prosecuting the war in the East, Osman was in his absence exposed to the machinations of enemies at home, and the supplies were withheld

from him, without which it was impossible for him to maintain his ground; and in 1734, with a weakened and divided army, he was compelled to give battle to his enemy, when his forces were totally defeated, and he himself slain. The Sultan's brother-in-law Abdallah hastened to the East with a large army, and was also overpowered by the victorious Shah, on which a peace was concluded, by which Georgia was ceded to the Persians, and the Ottoman Empire confined within its former limits.

Soon after the termination of the Persian war, the Ottoman Empire became involved in a struggle with Russia, and in the campaign of 1736, Azof, Oczakow, and the other important fortresses intended as the defence of the frontiers of the Turkish Empire, were compelled to surrender to the army of the Czarina. In the following year the Emperor of Germany, uniting with the Russian Empress, prepared to invade the provinces of Servia, Bosnia, and Wallachia. The formidable confederacy which thus threatened him, led Sultan Mahmoud earnestly to desire peace, but the terms demanded by Germany being no less than the cession of those parts of the Turkish dominions, Mahmoud resolved to resist the agressions thus threatened, and made vigorous preparations for that purpose. Ismael Pasha, the Grand Vizier, was superseded by Sighen, a man of considerable military genius, and a large army was raised, and placed under his command.

The celebrated Count de Bonneval was by his great talent of signal service to the Ottoman forces at this juncture, and by his spirit and enthusiasm enabled them to shake off that terror of the Russian arms which in the Ukraine had led to the loss of most favourable opportunities of victory. Count Seckendorff had reduced Nissa, and was preparing to besiege Widdin, as the Grand Vizier moved forward to attack his forces; and an engagement soon took place, in which the Ottoman army manifested such superiority that the enemy was obliged to evacuate Servia, with a loss of a great portion of his army, while Nissa was restored to the Sultan. The Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen was no less

unfortunate in Bosnia than Seckendorff had been in Servia. The Sultan's forces obtained a complete victory over his enemy. At the close of this successful campaign, the Grand Vizier entered Constantinople in triumph, and laid the keys of the important places taken at the feet of the Sultan, to the great delight and gratification of the people. Sultan Mahmoud, however, faithful to the resolution he had formed on ascending the throne, that the chief authority should not be long held by the same individual, removed Sighen from the office of Vizier; and Elwas Pasha, a man fortunately of equal skill, became his successor. The new Vizier having committed the duty of watching the movements of Marshal Munich in the Crimea to the Khan of that province, marched against Belgrade, a fortress of the highest importance to the Turkish Empire. The Count de Wallis, who commanded the imperial army, in vain endeavoured to interpose between the Vizier's troops and the fortress. He was defeated in two separate battles, his entrenched camp was stormed and carried, and, pursued by the Ottomans, the Count took refuge within the walls of Belgrade. The Grand Vizier Elwas having command of the Danube, as well as a large supply of artillery, the Janizaries became discontented because they were not immediately led to the assault; but Elwas was as distinguished for sagacity and prudence as for courage. Having exhibited his power and the superiority of his forces, he invited the Austrian plenipotentiaries to sue for peace, dictating on the authority which his great military force conferred upon him, the conditions of the negotiation. The treaty of Belgrade, under the mediation and guarantee of France, was accordingly concluded and signed; and thus, in 1739, the preceding treaty of Passarowitz was declared void, Belgrade became attached to the Ottoman Empire, and in addition to other arrangements, the Danube, the Save, and the Unna, were declared to be the future boundaries of the two empires.

This peace with the court of Austria was soon followed by another, no less important, with the Empress of Russia. Although the Czarina's troops had always been successful, the politics of Russia became embarrassed by a continuance of

the war in the Ukraine and the Crimea. The Empress resolved, therefore, to terminate the contest. She accordingly restored to the Sultan her conquests of Choczim and Moldavia, consented to the demolition of the fortress of Azof, and procured all treaties prior to that of Belgrade, to be held as void, and that treaty to be considered as, instead of a truce, a permanent treaty of peace. The Sultan, on the other hand, acknowledged the right of the Czarina to the title of Empress. A general peace was thus established, which was of great importance to the Ottoman Empire.

Three years afterwards, the death of the last male of the illustrious House of Hapsburg, took place; and during the war which continued to desolate Europe till the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, the Sultan, so far from taking advantage of the distracted condition of the neighbouring kingdoms, removed the anxiety which the court of Vienna experienced, by maintaining with the utmost solicitude the peace which had been concluded.

The remaining part of the reign of Mahmoud I., passed in comparative tranquillity, although it was distinguished by the troubles which arose in Arabia under the leader of the Wahabees, and by the efforts of the Russians to occupy the vast districts between the Dniester and the Dnieper, and to secure the frontiers of their territories by the erection of a line of fortresses which were calculated to be of great importance in any future struggle.

Mahmoud died in 1754, to the universal regret of his people. He possessed excellent abilities, and was mild and humane, and to his influence may be attributed the important position of the Turkish Empire during his reign, and the comparative tranquillity which it enjoyed. Among the benefits which he conferred on his country, was the introduction of the art of printing in 1726, by which several important works were published in Constantinople, tending to exhibit the taste of the Sultan for science and literature in a very favourable point of view.

CHAPTER XXV.

A.D. 1754—1774.

Accession of Othoman III.—His character—Great fire in Constantinople Death of the Sultan, and accession of Mustafa III.—Assault by the Arabs on the sacred caravan—Famine and disturbances in Constantinople—Affairs in the Crimea—War with Russia—Successes of the army of Catherine II. in the campaign of 1769—Surrender of Choczim to the Russians—Intrigues of the Russian court in the Morea—The Russian fleet sent to Greece—Insurrection in the Morea—Destruction of the Ottoman fleet in the port of Tchesme—Defeat of the Ottoman forces at Cahoul—Reduction of Bender by the Russians—Attack on Trebizond—Capture of Azof, &c.—Death of Mustafa III.

MAHMOUD I. was succeeded by Othoman III. This prince, who quitted the seraglio at the mature age of fifty-three to occupy the throne, had for that lengthened period of time existed in a condition in the highest degree unfavourable to the possession of those qualities requisite to the successful discharge of the important duties devolving on the sovereign of such an empire as that of Turkey. He was entirely a stranger to the world. He knew nothing of public affairs, or the mode of conducting them, and whatever mental vigour he had originally possessed had been destroyed by his long seclusion, and the enervating influences to which he was exposed.*

* "The custom of imprisoning the minor princes is repugnant to the spirit of Mussulman legislation, and is a law of the seraglio, dictated by fear and cruelty, the ruling passions of an effeminate tyrant. These victims of corrupt political institution are sequestered from general society, except when they momentarily quit their prison, during the festival of the *bairam*, in order to present their homage to the Sultan. Sensual gratifications constitute their only enjoyments; and even these are embittered by the reflection (if men so educated are capable of reflection) that their offspring is condemned to be torn from the first embraces of its parents by the hands of the assassin.—'La sage femme qui le reçoit est tenue, au risque de sa vie, de ne pas le laisser vivre.'"—*Thornton*, vol. i., p. 119.

Sultan Othoman III., therefore, became immediately a mere instrument in the hands of the Kislar-aga; and the favourite improved upon the advice of the wary counsellor of the late Sultan,—who had warned his master not to allow the office of prime minister to remain in the same hands more than three years,—by exercising his influence in appointing and deposing in succession the Grand Viziers, after they had held office even for a few months.

Said-effendi, who, in the reign of the late Sultan, had brought from France a knowledge of the typographical art, and by his intelligence and liberality greatly promoted the important undertaking of erecting printing presses in Constantinople for the production of valuable works, received the appointment of Grand Vizier; and one of the first duties he was called on to perform was the reception of the ambassador of Louis of France, to the capital of whose kingdom he owed these enlightened views and that liberal policy with which he laboured to advance the interests of his own country.*

This sagacious and enlightened prime minister had, however, only begun to exert himself successfully for the public good, when he was compelled to resign the seals to Ali Pasha Oglu, who in his turn, and after an equally brief tenure of his office, was dismissed in favour of the Selictar-aga, the Sultan's favourite. The power of this crafty and ambitious minister was speedily brought to a fatal termination.

The Sultan having no children, observed that his people naturally looked forward to the succession to the throne of one of the princes his nephews, the sons of the late Sultan Achmet, and with a degree of jealousy which never could have arisen in a well constituted mind, he formed the resolution of putting the young princes to death, and thus terminating the Ottoman dynasty. Two of the ill-fated youths died by poison, which he caused to be administered to them; but Mustafa, when about to empty the fatal cup, suspected

* On the occasion of the entrance of the French ambassador into Constantinople, which was accompanied by extraordinary pomp, the Sultan exhibited the pitiable imbecility of his character by mixing with the crowd, attired as a member of the 'Ulama, accompanied only by two attendants, and running sometimes before, and sometimes at the side of the ambassador's procession

that some danger threatened him, and having compelled the slave who had offered it to drink it off, found his apprehensions verified by the instant death of the wretched instrument of the Sultan's malignancy. Prince Abdul Hamid also escaped the fatal drug; but both the princes felt convinced that, although thus evading their doom for a time, their days were numbered. It was at this period that the Sultan was informed that his favourite, the Grand Vizier, had been seen to enter the apartments of the princes by night, and in disguise. The discovery was fatal to the minister, who had naturally endeavoured to warn the princes of their danger, as well as to avert it, and Othoman ordered him instantly to be decapitated.

The reign of Othoman III. was only of three years' duration; and the history of the period does not present any events worthy of particular mention, with the exception of an extraordinary conflagration which occurred in Constantinople.

The fire began early in the morning in the quarter opposite Galata, and in consequence of a strong north wind, and great delay in obtaining the requisite aid promptly to extinguish the flames, the conflagration spread with the utmost rapidity, and soon baffled every attempt to check its career. By this catastrophe, several thousands of edifices of various kinds, constituting three-fourths of the city, were destroyed, including the magnificent palace of the Grand Vizier, the magazines of military stores, and many other public establishments, with a vast amount of private property.

Othoman had appointed Mohammad Raghib to be his Grand Vizier, intending to supersede him, when he was suddenly cut off from the consequences of a surgical operation which his intemperance had rendered essential. Othoman III. might have proved an excellent sovereign had he not been so long exposed to the ruinous influences of the seraglio, which had rendered impossible the development of his natural capacities, and had obscured and weakened those good qualities which he possessed. During his brief reign he completed the magnificent mosque called the Nour Osmanie, founded in its neighbourhood a college for the maintenance of a hundred and

seventy students, and established a library, which bears his name, and indicates that he was not wholly unaware of the value of knowledge, or wholly destitute of a taste for literature.

On the death of Sultan Othoman III. in 1757, he was succeeded by his nephew Prince Mustafa. The earlier portion of the reign of this sovereign, who assumed the title of Mustafa III., was rendered remarkable by the plunder of the sacred caravan on its way to Mekkeh, by an army of forty thousand Arabs; and by disturbances occasioned by the pressure of a famine, caused in some measure by the shipwreck of a fleet of nearly seventy vessels, laden with corn, on their way to Constantinople. With the exception of these events, in themselves productive of great uneasiness, the first years of the reign of Mustafa III. were passed in profound peace, owing in a considerable degree to the influence of the Grand Vizier Raghib, the ablest statesman who had appeared since the time of the distinguished Achmet Kiuperli,* and to the declarations of the 'Ulama, who held that it was contrary to the Kur-án to interrupt a peace, the conditions of which had been carefully fulfilled. For several years after the death of his sagacious counsellor Raghib, the Sultan continued to observe the policy which that minister had recommended, and the empire enjoyed a considerable degree of prosperity.

* This excellent minister exhibited a high degree of public spirit, combined with an earnest and persevering effort to encourage the cultivation of literature. "His enlightened mind proposed to secure the capital from the future ravages of the plague, by establishing lazarettoes on the Islands of Princes; but the views of the people whom he sought to benefit were not matured enough to apprehend his views. Distinguished by literary talents, Raghib then founded a library, which he gave by his will to the public, and on the entrance is marked this simple inscription, "Honour and glory to God; in submission to the will of God, and in hope of pleasing him, Mehemet, Grand Vizier, surnamed Raghib, or the Studious, has founded this establishment in the year of the Hejira 1176," A.D. 1762. He is not only signalised by his love of letters, but Raghib also cultivated literature in his own person. Among other works, he was the author of Collections in Morals and Philosophy in Arabic; of the Finic Raghib, or Vessel of Men of Letters; of the Manketata, or Chosen Sentences and Remarkable Words; also a Collection of Letters and State Papers of his own Life. Du Hald's China was translating into Turkish under Raghib's inspection, but was dropped at his decease."—*Upham's History*, vol. ii., p. 270.

In 1768 the peace which had hitherto been uninterrupted was terminated by war with Russia, the origin of which it is requisite briefly to relate. The condition of the Crimea had undergone a considerable alteration in consequence of the invasion of a Tartar Khan, Krim Guary, who seized the sovereignty of the province, and overran Moldavia with his troops, carrying off an immense amount of spoil. The Sultan, however, resolved to maintain peace by every means in his power, and was induced to recognise the ambitious Tartar as the sovereign of the province on which he had seized. The Khan, whose object was thus attained, restored a large portion of the booty which he had taken from Moldavia. Ultimately, however, his unsatiable ambition caused his removal from the high position to which he had attained. His successor was Mackloud Guary, and this man had thrown into prison Jacoub Aga, the governor of Balta, a city of Krim Tartary, on the borders of the Ukraine. Jacoub Aga having subsequently regained his liberty, and being desirous, if possible, to reinstate his patron, the late Khan, in the government from which he had been ejected, adopted a scheme which effected this object. The Poles having retreated before the forces of Russia, a detachment took refuge in Choczim, but being pursued by their enemies, they were ultimately driven back on Balta; and Jacoub Aga having contrived that the Turks should participate in the conflict, many of them were slain by the Russians. This immediately led to hostilities between Russia and Turkey. The Sultan found it no longer possible to observe the peace which had thus been violated by the forces of the Czarina, and arrangements were made for war. Jacoub Aga accomplished his design. His patron Krim Guary was restored to his rank, and appointed commander-in-chief of the Turkish army.

In Constantinople the utmost excitement prevailed. The standard of the Prophet was brought forth, and all ranks of the people were invited to rally around it, and prepare to avenge the insults offered to the empire. An immense multitude hastened from Asia, and Krim Guary brought to join the Ottoman army a force of a hundred thousand of his Tartar

subjects. The first campaign terminated in the utter desolation of the wide district of New Servia, and the indefatigable Tartar led back his forces to Bender in Bessarabia. He became, however, the object of jealousy to the Ottoman commander Mohammad, and, as it was supposed, died by poison, which his rival caused to be administered to him just as he was preparing to carry the war into Poland.

The campaign of 1769 was opened with a force of two hundred thousand men, who, although of unquestionable valour, were for the most part ill-disciplined; while their commander Mohammad had neither the experience nor military capacity suited to the important enterprise in which he was employed; at the same time he was obstinate and presumptuous in the measures which he adopted. In addition to this incapacity, the Vizier laboured under the inconvenience of being bound to carry on the campaign by directions received from the Sultan, and which must necessarily have frequently been unsuited to such exigencies, as arose from causes which neither he himself, nor the Sultan and his advisers at Constantinople, could by any possibility anticipate. The forces of Catherine II. were commanded by Prince Galatzin, and consisted of only twenty-four thousand Russians, but the inferiority of the discipline and military tactics of the Ottomans had already been so strikingly exhibited, that this comparatively small force was considered by no means unequal to the Turkish army. The result of the campaign proved the accuracy of this calculation.

The army of Catherine II. laid siege to Choczim, and was successfully repulsed by the garrison and a reinforcement of Turkish troops. This success operating on the rash and presumptuous temper of the Vizier, determined him imprudently to advance into Poland without the requisite military stores or provisions. The army was divided into three parts, one of which under the Seraskier proceeded towards Yassy, and crossing the Dniester, encountered the Russian troops, by whom they were completely overthrown. The terror which this defeat inspired was speedily communicated to the remaining divisions, and the contest at length terminated,

the Russian soldiers having succeeded in exhibiting their superiority to a force almost ten times more numerous than themselves.

The unfortunate Vizier Mohammad was recalled to Constantinople, and paid the penalty of his military errors by the forfeit of his life, the charge against him being, that he had not prosecuted the campaign according to the plan prescribed by the Sultan. Moldovandgi, a man of high military skill, was appointed to the vacant command. Ambitious to gain distinction and to retrieve the losses which had been sustained, he boldly marched to encounter the Russians, crossed the Dniester in the face of the enemy, expecting to effect a signal triumph. The Dniester at this critical juncture became flooded, the bridges which the Turks had completed were carried away, cutting off their communication with Moldavia. Overpowered by terror, they became an easy prey to their enemies. Although the flood formed an additional protection to Choczim, the garrison, notwithstanding their former able defence, fled from the place, and Galatzin, scarcely crediting the tidings which assured him of the evacuation of the fortress, at length took possession of it without opposition. With this event terminated the campaign of 1769.

Notwithstanding these calamitous circumstances, Sultan Mustafa III., having exiled Moldovandgi, made the utmost efforts to collect a force adequate to the emergency in which he was placed. But while he was thus employed, the Czarina, besides making the requisite preparations for the ensuing campaign, endeavoured to weaken her adversary by endeavouring to incite the Christian population of Greece to take up arms against their Mohammadan superiors, and in this manner effectually to embarrass the Sultan by a revolution in the heart of his empire, thus adopting a scheme to which there is abundant reason to believe, the court of Russia has more than once had recourse, since the period of history to which reference is now made.

In the Morea, there was a population of about one hundred thousand Greeks capable of bearing arms, and the Porte kept up a small force of about six thousand men in the various fortresses which it possessed in that province. Its rule

although severe, was felt by the Greeks to be less oppressive than that of the Venetians, as was sufficiently proved by their desire for the expulsion of the subjects of the republic, and their own return under the undivided authority of the Ottoman Porte. The feeling of security possessed by the Sultan in the loyalty of his Greek subjects, rendered it a matter of little difficulty for the emissaries of the Czarina to enter the Morea and pursue their object without interruption. Orloff, a favourite of the Russian Empress, and a Greek named Papaz Oglu, succeeded in persuading the Primate of Calamata, and several bishops and their dependents, to prepare for a general insurrection of the Greek population, on the appearance of a Russian force to second their enterprize; and a report was transmitted to the court of St. Petersburgh that a hundred thousand armed Greeks were ready to second the efforts of the Russian army.

Having received this intelligence, which was altogether exaggerated and false, Catherine II. ordered a Russian fleet to sail from the ports of the Baltic to the Ægean Sea, and in the summer of 1770, the ships, having on board about twelve hundred troops, appeared in the harbour of Coron. Alarmed beyond measure at this occurrence, the Turks fled on every side to the fortresses, but the Russians were wholly unable to take advantage of the terror which their arrival occasioned. The Greeks and the Russians in fact had deceived each other, the latter presuming that on their appearance the whole population would take up arms, and that all Greece would espouse their cause; while the Greeks, on the other hand, supposed they were only to act as the guides of a large and well equipped force, capable by its manifest superiority in numbers and discipline, of easily achieving the object which they were led to consider important to themselves. Although it was obvious they had been deceived by the emissaries of Catherine, the Primate of Calamata raised the standard of independence, and arms and ammunition were landed from the Russian ships for the use of the insurgents. The number of those who rallied around the Primate's standard was limited to a few thousands, who could entertain no rational prospect of ultimate success.

The Russian squadron took possession of Navarino, which had been left undefended, and the Turkish fleet in the bay of Napoli soon afterwards beheld the squadron of Russia approaching, when five of the six vessels of which the Ottoman force was composed took to flight, and one alone remained to encounter singly the fire of the enemy, and having been exposed to the attack of the whole squadron, at length, after a valiant defence, made good its retreat under the cannon of the fortress of Napoli.*

After some futile attempts, the Russian expedition discovered that they had no prospect whatever of success. The few Muscovites who landed were speedily driven back to their ships, to which also the leaders of the insurrection betook themselves, and the whole peninsula became the wretched theatre of the Sultan's vengeance.

A very severe naval loss, however, awaited the Ottoman Porte, the account of which is thus given by a well-known author:—"The Capitan Pasha, meantime, faithful to his plan of caution, sought to avoid the enemy; but at length a combat becoming inevitable, he chose certainly a skilful position, in the narrow strait separating the island of Chio from the Asiatic coast. Having moored his twenty-four vessels, guarded by batteries, and flanked by shoals and rocks, he awaited his foe. The position and circumstances very much resembled the position of Aboukir, and the results were not widely different from the glorious victory of the Nile. The combat began with great fury; and it is remarkable that the Capitan Pasha, at the very moment of commencing the battle, caused himself to be put on shore, on the pretext of establishing some batteries on the coast, at the same time

* The captain of the ship who thus distinguished himself by an exploit worthy of the fame of Barbarossa, was Hassan Bey. He was a Persian. In his infancy he had been made a captive by the Ottomans, and sold to an inhabitant of Rodosto. As he grew up, he signalized himself by his courage and hardihood, and having escaped, enrolled himself among the pirates of Algiers. Compelled to fly from his associates in consequence of the jealousy excited by his superior abilities, he took refuge in Naples, and subsequently became known to the celebrated Raghib Pasha, by whom he obtained an appointment in the Ottoman navy.

that the generalissimo Orloff quitted his vessel to embark on board of a frigate, which he kept aloof during the whole action. The Capitan Pasha was not needed when the brave Hassan commanded. His enormous vessel was attacked by the Russian Admiral's flag-ship, and a chance shot having carried away the rudder of the latter vessel, she drove down on the Capitan Pasha to board, and the contest became most bloody. Their decks were swept by musketry, and alternately taken and retaken; but Hassan, covered with wounds, was on the very point of carrying his enemy, when the Russian commander succeeded in setting the Turkish vessel on fire. The flames burst forth so furiously, as to communicate also to the Russian ship, the crew of which sought an escape by plunging into the deep. Hassan, after using every endeavour to extinguish the flames, took the same expedient, and, accompanied by Achmet, an old companion and friend, they succeeded in gaining the shore, ere the powder magazines exploding blew both the vessels into the air. This terrible explosion terminated for the present the contest; but Jaffer Bey, commander of a division, alarmed at the event, made signal to cut the cables and clear the enemy, by keeping along the coast. While thus sailing along, he perceived in front of the port of Chio, the little bay of Tchesme, and heedful of nothing but the present danger, he hastened to anchor under the guns of the fortress, followed thither by the whole of the fleet, which thus hastened to crowd together into the same asylum. Hassan, wounded and scorched by the flames, made his way on foot to Tchesme, to exhort the imprudent Ottomans instantly to leave so dangerous a position; but the Capitan Pasha, decided to avoid another engagement, only strictly forbade any ship to put to sea,—he multiplied the batteries, and made his position impregnable, but not inaccessible; and too soon the Russians saw his infatuation with as much astonishment as joy, and hastened to take advantage of it. While a few ships by a feigned attack, occupied the attention of the Turkish fleet and port, two fire ships, conducted by the English officers serving under Elphinstone, were taken into the midst of the bay; the crews then hastily

retreated to the larger vessels, having lighted the train, and no sooner were they on board, than the Russian ships withdrew from the scene of danger, as far distant and as rapidly as possible. They had scarcely time to avoid the bay, ere the flames burst forth and communicated to the four large Turkish vessels, which they touched; soon these becoming ungovernable, bore down upon the fleet, all of which became commixed together,—each caught the flames successively, and the whole port of Tchesme became an ocean of flame. The cannon, which were shotted, as the flames reached them, battered down the fortress and buildings, until the fire reached the powder magazines, ship after ship exploded into the air, while their unfortunate crews sought for safety by plunging into the sea. This dreadful scene began an hour after midnight; and lasted until six in the morning; and thus on the night of the 7th or 8th of July 1770, was destroyed the whole Ottoman fleet, composed of twenty-four vessels, several of which carried a hundred guns. Only one vessel of sixty guns escaped the conflagration, which was captured by the Russians."*

The disasters which thus befel the Ottoman force in the southern, had their counterpart in those which occurred in the northern portion of the empire. A large detachment of Russians, well provided with artillery, laid siege to Bender, and the Russian General, crossing the Dniester, gave battle to the Ottoman troops, and gained a complete victory. The whole of the Turkish artillery, and 7000 waggons laden with provisions and military stores, fell into his hands, and the remnant of the Sultan's army, reduced to less than 5000 men, retreated across the Danube in irretrievable disorder, and took their way to the imperial city. The battle of Cahoul was speedily followed by the reduction of Bender, and the Ottoman garrisons occupying the strong fortresses on the left bank of the Danube evacuated them, and left to the Russians an uninterrupted passage to the fortress of Ismail. These successes on the part of the Sultan's enemies were succeeded by others not less inauspicious. A Russian army marching

* Upham's History, vol. ii., p. 281.

from Georgia attacked Trebizond, and the fleet of the Czarina took possession of the city and fortress of Azof, and interrupted the supplies requisite to the capital by occupying the entrance of the Bosphorus. Nor did the affairs of the southern provinces exhibit a less unpromising aspect. The standard of independence had been raised among the mountains of Lebanon. In Egypt the Pasha, the representative of the Sultan, had been driven from Cairo by Ali-Bey, whose ambition led him to aspire to the establishment of an independent sovereignty.

In the midst of these most disastrous and ominous circumstances, the Porte acted with the utmost energy, adopting as most suited to the exigency, a system of defensive warfare. The Grand Vizier strongly fortified the camp at Schumla, and succeeded in maintaining the defence of the Balkans. An attempt was made in 1772 to conclude the war by a treaty of peace, but the Empress of Russia's demands were such as the Porte could not be persuaded to yield—these demands being the uninterrupted navigation of the Bosphorus, and the cession not only of the Crimea, but of the whole country between the Bug and the Dniester.

Such was the condition of matters up to the year 1774. For some time prior to this period, the Sultan had been suffering from a severe bodily disorder, and although he had with great firmness and equanimity, hitherto supported the pressure of his unavoidable anxiety, it soon appeared that the calamities which had befallen his forces, and the imminent peril in which his empire was placed, were too much for his feeble condition. Finding that his days were numbered, he sent for Abdul Hamid, his successor, and having confided to him the important objects he had at heart, and the plans he had intended to adopt for the improvement of his country, soon afterwards expired, leaving behind him the well merited reputation of a sovereign, whose chief design was the welfare of his people.

CHAPTER XXVI.

A.D. 1774—1789.

Accession of Abdul Hamid—State of the empire at this period—Political disorders in Egypt, Asia Minor, Baghdád, &c.—War with Russia—Importance of the fortresses on the Danube, Widdin, Silistria, &c.—And of Schumla—Campaign opened by Field-Marshal Roumanzow—Defeat of the Grand Vizier—Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji—Articles of this treaty—Its importance to Russia—Intrigues of Russia in the Crimea—Interference between the competitors for the sovereignty—Potemkin enters the Crimea—Abdication of the Khan—Russia takes possession of the Crimea, the Ruban, &c. Insulting conduct of Catherine II.—The Ottoman Porte declares war—Campaign of 1788—Joseph II. attacks Belgrade—Treaty of Sistow—Death of Sultan Abdul Hamid.

ABDUL HAMID, who now succeeded to the Ottoman throne, had passed nearly fifty years as a recluse within the walls of the seraglio. During that long period he had occupied himself in study, and in transcribing the Kur-án; but on exchanging the retirement and leisure of a private individual for the public duties and activity of a sovereign prince, he gave himself energetically to the discharge of those momentous duties which he had undertaken on the last request of his predecessor Sultan Mustafa.

Never had a Sultan ascended the throne amid so great a complication of political dangers. The chief of these arose from the ambitious projects of the court of Russia. The whole northern frontier of the Ottoman Empire in Asia and Europe was pressed upon by the armies of Catherine II., and the successes which the Empress had already attained in the preceding campaigns had depressed and dispirited the troops of the Sultan.

But while the empire was thus menaced by a foreign enemy, it was threatened everywhere with domestic evils scarcely less perilous. On the Adriatic the Pâsha of Scutari had assumed an attitude of almost complete independence. In the east the Pasha of Baghdad had become an absolute sovereign in almost everything but the name. In Egypt and in Asia Minor the same elements of political discord and disunion were in equally active operation. The principal incident in the reign of Abdul Hamid is presented to us in the termination of the struggle between the Ottoman forces and those of Russia, which began in the reign of his predecessor.

The Danube, which forms the northern boundary of Bulgaria, and which from its great breadth and the rapidity of its current constitutes a strong natural line of defence against an invading army, is rendered doubly formidable by the erection of several great fortresses upon its southern shores. The most important of these are Silistria in the eastern, and Widdin in the western extremity of Bulgaria, and between them, among others those of Brahilow, Rutzschuck, and Turtukai. Beyond these fortresses, at the foot of the Balkans, and guarding the nearest passages over these mountains from the north, lies the celebrated fortress of Schumla. This stronghold, although not possessed of the defence which the broad and rapid waters of the Danube afford to its sister fortresses on the north, is nevertheless very strongly fortified both by art and nature. It is surrounded by deep ditches and lofty walls, flanked by towers, and constitutes the centre of an entrenched camp. The declivities and precipices by which it is surrounded, and which are such as to secure it from the attack of an enemy's artillery, together with its great extent, renders it a place of the highest possible importance to the Turkish Empire.

Any attempt on the part of an invading army to penetrate beyond the Balkans and to advance to Constantinople must be begun by the reduction, first, of the strongholds on the Danube, and lastly by that of Schumla. If these objects can be effected, and an army of sufficient magnitude well supplied with such military stores and provisions as are re-

quisite for the march between the southern declivities of the Balkans and Hadrianople, the work of advancing to Constantinople and the conquest of that city becomes a mere question of time. Hence it is that the independence of the Turkish Empire must be decided by a conflict between the Balkans and the Danube.

The campaign of 1774 was opened by the troops of the Russian Empress under Field Marshal Count de Roumanzow, who, having succeeded in crossing the Danube with a large and well appointed army, invested Silistria. Before the Russian army had succeeded in forming their intrenchments, the Turkish forces began the attack with the utmost impetuosity, and the same want of steady discipline which had already proved so fatal to them in the previous campaign. The result was the total defeat by Suwarow and Kaminski of the division of the Ottoman army opposed to them, and the capture of all their stores. This defeat was immediately succeeded by a still greater disaster arising almost wholly from the want of military skill on the part of the Ottoman commander-in-chief and Grand Vizier Mousson Zadi Mechmet Pasha, as well as want of discipline in his army. The lines at Schumla were too widely extended, and the Russian general, taking advantage of this circumstance, by breaking through one of the openings left unprotected, turned the position of the Ottoman army, and cut off their communication with their magazines at Varna. The result of this equally bold and skilful manœuvre decided the contest. The Turkish forces were overwhelmed by terror, and the consequence was a state of irremediable confusion throughout the whole army. Scenes similar to those exhibited in the preceding campaign were again enacted. All subordination was at an end. Deaf alike to commands and entreaties, the Turkish soldiers fled in all directions, till at length the Grand Vizier found himself possessed of only twelve thousand men, a mere remnant of the immense host he had so recently led to the field.

In these circumstances, incapable of farther resistance, and without the slightest hope of reinforcements, the only resource remaining to the Grand Vizier was to conclude a peace. Couriers were immediately despatched to Constanti-

nople, informing the Sultan of the state of affairs, and the reply was only received by the Vizier as the Russian forces were about to storm the entrenchments with which he had surrounded the remains of his army. The proposals were immediately submitted to the Russian commander-in-chief, and the treaty was concluded in his tent, near the village of Kutschouc-Kainardji, on the 10th July 1774.

This highly important treaty consisted of twenty-eight distinct articles, of the most important of which the following is a brief summary. By its terms, the independence of the Tartars of the Crimea, Budjiac, and the Kuban, was secured, and they were acknowledged as free nations, governed by a sovereign elected by themselves. The territories wrested from them were also restored, with the exception of the fortresses of Kertsch and Jenicale, and their districts and ports, which Russia retained for herself. It also provided that the fortress of Kinburn, at the mouth of the Dnieper, with an extensive tract on that river, together with the city of Azof and its district, should belong in perpetuity to Russia, and it was further arranged that it should remain with the Khan of the Crimea to consent that the two Cabardes should become subject to the Russian court. The treaty farther provided that the places taken by Russia on the east of the Black Sea should be surrendered, and should continue to be under the dominion of the Georgians and Mingrelians as before, and that Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, should be evacuated by the Russians, and the fortresses of Giurgewo and Brahilow, Ismail, Kilia and Ackerman, Choczim and Bender, be restored to Turkey. Among other articles, the treaty secured to Russia freedom of commerce and navigation; gave protection to Christians in the Ottoman states, together with permission to erect new churches as well as to repair old edifices; made arrangements for the honourable treatment of the ambassadors, the administration of the internal affairs of Wallachia and Moldavia, the safety of pilgrims proceeding to Jerusalem; and secured to the sovereign of Russia the title of Padishah.*

* From the highly important character of this treaty, it has been thought proper to insert it at full length in the Appendix No. I.

Such were the principal stipulations of the treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji. The importance to Russia of the conditions guaranteed by this celebrated document were clearly foreseen by those concerned in it, and have since been frequently evinced. Baron de Thugut, the representative of Austria, who lent the aid of his diplomatic skill in drawing up the document, strongly expressed himself as to its great value to Russia. "This treaty," said he, "is a model of ability on the part of the Russians, and a rare example of simplicity on the part of the Turks. By the terms of it, Russia will always have the power, whenever she thinks fit, to effect a descent upon the Black Sea. From her new frontier of Kertsch, she will be able to conduct in forty-eight hours, an organised army beneath the very walls of Constantinople. In this case, a conspiracy concocted with the chiefs of the schismatic faith will no doubt break out, and the Sultan will have no alternative but to flee to the remotest corners of Asia, after abandoning the throne of the Ottoman Empire to a more able successor. The conquest of Constantinople by the Russians may be accomplished off hand, and even before the tidings of such an intention could reach the other Christian powers."* The sagacity of the opinion thus expressed has been amply established by the history of the Ottoman Empire since the completion of the treaty in question. Although the peace terminated the struggle with Russia, it could only be regarded as an armed truce, and the Sultan beheld its stipulation with the utmost jealousy and alarm, and encouraged his Capitan Pasha, the celebrated Persian Hassan Bey, to the utmost activity in preparing a powerful fleet, as a provision against those dangers which the ambition of the Russian Empress gave him but too much reason to apprehend.

Circumstances eventually took place which justified the sentiments with which the Ottoman Porte regarded the treaty thus concluded. The intrigues of Catherine of Russia caused the revolt from the authority of the Khan of the Crimea, Dewlet Guary, of some of the most powerful tribes of

* Turkey, Past and Present, translated from the French of F. Bouvet, by W. Hutton. Lond. 1854.

Tartars, and the Khan found it requisite to fly from the seat of his government. This Khan was devoted to the interests of the Sublime Porte, and he had no sooner taken his departure than Saim Guary, who was opposed to the Sultan, and friendly to the cause of his rival the Czarina, was elected to the sovereignty by the influence of the Russian Court.

This interference in the affairs of the Crimea appeared to the Sultan as an infringement of the spirit of the treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji, and he accordingly threatened to declare war, while at the same time Saim Guary repaired to St. Petersburg, to place his interests more immediately under the care of the Russian court, and was received with marked distinction. Catherine, however, carefully observing that crafty policy by which she was distinguished, treated the Tartar prince as her vassal, and Count de Roumanzow was commanded to collect an army on the Dnieper to support him. It soon appeared to the Porte that, from the decision displayed by the Empress, a war was inevitable if it persisted in opposing the claims of her protegée. The alternative was too disastrous to be chosen, and Saim Guary took possession of his sovereignty.

An opportunity soon occurred which enabled the Empress to take possession of the Crimea, and thus accomplish the object of which it is highly probable she had never lost sight. Disputes arose between the Khan and his brother the Governor of the Kuban, which were not only excited, but fomented by the agents of Russia. The former fled from Kaffa, and took refuge in Taganrog, and the crisis arrived which demanded the interference of the Russian forces, and enabled the Empress to illustrate the fable in which two sheep having a suit against each other, appeal for judgment to a wolf, who ultimately tears them both to pieces.

Potemkin, the favourite of the Empress, led to the territories of the Khan a force of sixty thousand men, and his brother immediately submitted to this unanswerable argument. The Sultan, on the other hand, despatched an army to secure possession of the island of Taman, and the Khan, now supported by the Russian troops, demanded that the Ottoman

army should retire. The envoy, however, was seized by the Pasha and put to death, and Potemkin instantly proclaimed his intention to avenge the insult received by the ally of his sovereign. For this purpose, the Russian army were permitted to pass through the Peninsula, which they immediately overran. The person of the Khan was secured, and the various Tartar chiefs were compelled by Potemkin to declare their allegiance to the Empress. At the same time, the fierce Suwarow entered the Kuban, compelled the chiefs of the district to submit to Russia, and the unfortunate Khan, finding his condition hopeless, retired from his sovereignty, and accepted instead of it a pension from the Russian government, which however was not paid.

These events, which constituted beyond doubt a flagrant violation of the treaty of Kainardji, gave rise to the utmost indignation throughout the Ottoman Empire, and the public voice demanded that war should be declared against Russia. The immense power of the Empress, however, and the fatal consequences of the recent struggle yet fresh in the recollection of the Sultan and his advisers, rendered such a project too hazardous to be entertained. The Ottoman Porte therefore reluctantly concluded a new arrangement in 1784, by which the Crimea and the vast territories to the east of the Sea of Azof, which, according to the treaty of Kainardji, were to remain independent, became, with their warlike inhabitants, a portion of the dominions of Russia.

The successes of the Russian Empress were accompanied by proceedings in a high degree insulting to the Ottoman Empire; such as the triumphant progress of the Empress through her newly acquired provinces; the assemblage of large armies in the Crimea; the placing of an inscription on one of the gates of Kherson, at the mouth of the Dnieper, with the words, "This is the route to Byzantium;" and similar acts more or less calculated to irritate a nation already deeply injured by unprovoked aggressions, and the perfidious violation of solemn engagements on the part of Russia. The Sultan accordingly found himself, in 1787, under the unavoidable necessity of taking up arms, and war was proclaimed.

One of the first objects of the Ottoman forces was the reduction of the fortress of Kinburn, which, as already stated, occupies an advantageous position at the mouth of the Dnieper, and which had been ceded to Russia in 1774. The defence of this important stronghold was confided by Catherine II. to the fierce and skilful Suwarow, and after a sanguinary contest of twelve hours, the Turkish forces suffered a total defeat. The Emperor Joseph II. had entered into an arrangement with the Empress of Russia to seize upon and partition the Ottoman Empire, and the information of the defeat of his troops at Kinburn reached the Sultan along with the account of an assault by Joseph II. on Belgrade, without the usual formality of a declaration of war. This complication of difficulties was nevertheless met with the utmost energy by the Sublime Porte. While Hassan Bey was dispatched to the Crimea with a powerful fleet, the Grand Vizier Joussouf Pasha marched toward the Danube with an army greatly outnumbering the forces of his adversaries, and having entered the Bannat, defeated the forces of Austria and spread consternation to the gates of Vienna. These successes on the part of the Sultan against Austria subsequently resulted in the treaty of Sistow, which restored matters to the condition in which they were prior to the war. But the Ottoman fleet was wholly unsuccessful. Having entered the Dnieper, it became embarrassed by the difficulties of the navigation, and, assaulted by the batteries of Suwarow, the well-known valour of its veteran admiral was unable to save the flotilla from entire destruction. The Prince of Nassau destroyed or captured fifteen Turkish frigates, and more than ten thousand Ottomans were slain or made prisoners, and Potemkin having invested the fortress of Oczakow with eighty thousand men, reduced it after an obstinate defence of four months, putting the whole of the garrison to the sword. This sanguinary triumph, which was not gained without immense loss on the part of the Russians, closed the campaign. Early in the following year 1789, the death of the Sultan took place, and he was succeeded by his nephew, who assumed the Ottoman sceptre with the title of Selim III.

CHAPTER XXVII.

A. D. 1789—1796.

Accession of Selim III.—Favourable expectations from his talents—Immediate demands upon his energies—The campaign of 1789—Operations of the Russian army in the Danubian provinces—Battle of Rimnik, and defeat of the Ottoman army—Reduction of Bucharest by the Prince of Cobourg—And of Belgrade by Laudohn—And of Bender, Ackerman, and other places in Bessarabia by Suwarow Unsuccessful attempts to negotiate peace with the Russian Empress—Campaign of 1790—Complete reduction of the Kuban and the Crimea by the Russian forces—Storming of Ismael—Sanguinary conduct of Suwarow—Influence of European events on the Empress Catherine—Peace of Yassy—The conditions of it—Renewal of the treaty of Kainardji, and other articles included in it—Conclusion of the war—Disturbed condition of the empire—Proceedings of Paswan Ineffectual attempts of the Porte to subject him to its power—His success—The revolution of the Wahabees—Their tenets—Their occupation of Mekkeh.

ON the death of Abdul Hamid, Selim III., the only son of Sultan Mustafa, was raised to the imperial throne, and the Turkish nation formed the most favourable anticipations from the great superiority in point of character which the young prince had exhibited during the imbecile reign of his predecessor. Nor were those anticipations disappointed.

The events which occurred immediately on his accession, were such as to demand the most energetic and laborious attention on the part of the Sultan. The political horizon was obscured by clouds indicating an approaching storm, which burst forth with devastating fury on the Ottoman dominions, in the Russian campaign of 1789.

During the preceding winter the Russian army was quar-

tered in Gallicia, and as soon as the state of the weather permitted in the following spring, military operations were vigorously resumed. The Prince of Cobourg began the campaign by quitting his winter quarters and advancing into Moldavia, along the right bank of the Sereth, while Suwarow advanced from Yassy with a considerable force to support him. The Sultan had made the most energetic efforts to prepare for his enemy's approach, and had succeeded in embodying an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Nearly the whole of the force at his command was now called into immediate action. Having been early despatched towards Moldavia, a division of the Turkish force forty thousand strong pressed onwards to the attack, and a battle took place on the 21st July. The consequences were most disastrous. Although on the part of the Turks there was no want of that determined valour by which the race has always been distinguished, yet they were unquestionably inferior to their adversaries in military skill, and it may be added, in military discipline. The battle was totally lost, and the artillery and military stores of the Ottoman force fell into the hands of the enemy.

The enemy soon discovered that the Grand Vizier was approaching at the head of an army of a hundred thousand men. After the battle just referred to, the Russian army under Suwarow had separated from the Austrian force, in order to reduce some of the fortresses towards the east; but the Russian general becoming aware of the advance of the Ottoman force, hastened back to join the troops under his command with those of the Prince of Cobourg. By forced marches, he arrived at Rimnik in the north of Wallachia, at the moment when the Ottoman army was about to engage the enemy. Suwarow, without affording his men an opportunity of resting after their long and rapid march, joined his troops with those of the prince, and the battle began in precisely the same locality in which Bajazet I. overthrew the Hospodar Stephen. There was an immense disparity between the hostile armies; the Ottoman force of one hundred thousand men was opposed only by twenty-five thousand of the enemy; the result was

as disastrous as that of the preceding battle. The well-known valour of the Turkish forces was rendered of comparatively little avail, by want of discipline and organization in the troops, as well as military skill in their officers; they were opposed to a force highly disciplined, and under very able commanders. The Russian army gained a decisive victory. More than twenty thousand of the Turks were slain, together with many officers of the highest rank. The whole of their artillery and military stores fell into the hands of the enemy, and the broken remains of their vast army threw themselves into the fortresses of Brahilow and Schumla, utterly incapable of averting the consequences of their defeat. The enemy, under the Prince of Cobourg, immediately entered Wallachia, and took possession of Bucharest, and Belgrade capitulated after three weeks' investment by the forces of Laudohn. Under Suwarow, the Russian army marched eastwards towards the mouths of the Danube, overrunning the country without opposition; and after taking possession of Bender, Ackerman, and other important positions in Bessarabia, besieged the strong fortress of Ismael. So complete was the success attending these movements, that there seemed nothing to prevent their advance to the Ottoman capital.

The disastrous consequences of a war, which threatened the extinction of the Ottoman Empire and the proportionate aggrandizement of the Russian power, filled every state in Europe with alarm, and vigorous efforts were made to induce the Empress Catherine to agree to a termination of hostilities. These efforts, however, were wholly unsuccessful. The high spirit of the Russian Empress gloried in opposing those obstacles which to other minds might seem insurmountable, and the strong language in which the European powers, who endeavoured to accomplish an arrangement, expressed themselves, rendered their efforts abortive; and the haughty Empress, spurning what she considered to be an unwarrantable interference on the part of the other states, rejected all proposals for a pacification, and resolved to continue the war. The campaign, which the severe weather of 1789 brought to a termination, was renewed early in the spring of the following

year, and was accompanied by circumstances no less disastrous to the Ottoman Empire than those which had preceded it. The enemy was everywhere triumphant. The Danubian provinces were completely at their mercy, and the Ottoman forces in the Kuban and the Crimea were everywhere defeated, while at the same time a powerful Russian fleet had possession of the Black Sea, and by intercepting the supplies of corn intended for the capital, filled the inhabitants with the greatest alarm, and excited them to measures of violence and insubordination.

The fortress of Ismael, the position of which at the mouths of the Danube rendered it of the greatest importance, was still in the hands of the Sultan; but Suwarow, who had been ordered to take possession of it at any cost, resolved upon its fall. He was not long in effecting his design. The place, although garrisoned by an army of forty thousand men, commanded by a Seraskier, was taken by an assault, the violence of which has scarcely any parallel in the annals of modern warfare. The conduct of the Russian general has stamped him as a barbarian, incapable of any generosity to a fallen enemy, and unaffected by any of those sentiments of tenderness and pity towards the defenceless, which have often shed a lustre over the character and conduct of the most distinguished warriors. Suwarow made prisoners and put to death more than fifty thousand of the Turks, and thirty thousand bodies, cast into the Danube, attested the murderous nature of the conflict, and the fierce and sanguinary temper of the victor. The fall of the stronghold of Ismael produced the utmost consternation in Constantinople, which now was not only exposed to the most imminent peril, but seemed menaced with inevitable destruction. Indeed, had the Empress Catherine resolved to take advantage of the repeated victories she had now gained, and to push her forces to the gates of the capital, the Ottoman dynasty might have been brought to a termination, and the empire of the Sultans annexed, almost without opposition, to that of Russia.

It is more than probable that the Empress, whose ambition and energy rendered her a worthy representative of Peter the Great, would, notwithstanding the efforts of the other

European powers, have completed the war by the subjugation of Turkey, and the seizure of its capital, had not the aspect of political affairs in Europe rendered it necessary to make the safety of her empire, rather than its extension, the primary consideration. The French revolution, and the triumph of principles so inimical to absolute despotism, was a civil convulsion, the effects of which were by no means wholly confined to France. An earthquake which in one part of the world overwhelms a city, frequently intimates itself by vibration through the most solid portions of the earth, to places far distant from the scene where its most disastrous consequences are manifested. In like manner, the civil convulsion which overturned one of the most ancient dynasties in Europe, shook almost every throne, and was distinctly felt even in countries far remote from the theatre of those horrors which republican fury enacted in Paris. Catherine of Russia, under such circumstances, conceived it advisable to terminate the war, and through the well-timed and judicious management of the courts of London and Vienna, a treaty of peace was entered into, and signed at Yassy in Moldavia on the 9th of January 1792.

Nothing could have been more ominous than the condition of the state of matters at this juncture. Not only was the power of the Sultan almost wholly broken, and the spirits of his soldiers crushed by repeated defeat, but it was demonstrated, beyond a shadow of doubt, that the condition of his forces, as to discipline and organization, rendered them incapable of withstanding the forces of the enemy. The Sultan, exasperated by his misfortunes, had in an evil hour put to death the ablest of his commanders, the brave but unfortunate Hassan, who had commanded the Ottoman troops in the great battle of Rimnik, unsuccessfully fought against the Prince of Cobourg and Suwarow, and who, although unable from causes over which even his military skill gave him little control, to defeat the invaders of his country, had, during a long life, performed many an heroic exploit, which ought to have entitled him to that consideration which every well-constituted mind is prepared to extend to those who, notwithstanding their distinguished merits, have fallen into misfortunes which no mere human

foresight could have been capable of averting. The Turkish troops were greatly discouraged by this act of vindictive cruelty toward a venerable soldier, under whom the naval forces of the Sultan had so often been led to victory. The fortress of Varna, the chief protection of the imperial city in the direction of the Balkans, was threatened by the forces of Catherine, and the Grand Vizier, who had succeeded the unfortunate Hassan, was greatly his inferior in military skill, and was on the point, of being cut off from access to his magazines. The capital itself was in a state of the highest excitement, and Selim, chagrined beyond measure at his losses, had shut himself up in his palace in a state bordering on despair. Under such a combination of untoward circumstances, the treaty of peace was as highly opportune as the articles of it were favourable to the Ottoman Empire.

The treaty of Yassy must be admitted to have exhibited the magnanimity of the Russian Empress. By the provisions of it, the stipulations of the treaty of Kainardji were solemnly renewed. The river Dniester was recognised as the frontier of the two empires. On the one hand, the Sultan ceded to Russia the space between the Bug and the Dniester, on which has since arisen the flourishing seaport of Odessa. The cession of the Crimea, a position of vast importance to the Russian navy, the isle of Taman, and part of the Kuban, as contained in the former treaty, was again confirmed, and Turkey agreed to pay for the expenses of the war the sum of twelve millions of piastres; while it was further arranged that Russian ships should have permission not only to navigate the Black Sea, but to enter the Bosphorus. The Empress, on the other hand, restored all her conquests in the provinces of the Danube, and on the completion of the treaty, voluntarily renounced the payment of the money, an act in a high degree liberal and praiseworthy. Thus Belgrade and the other important places which had been reduced by the Russian army reverted once more to the Sultan, and a most disastrous war was brought to a close on terms highly favourable to the weaker party, and at the expense of a much less amount of concession than it was clearly in the power of Russia to demand.

The conclusion of the war now permitted the Ottoman Emperor to direct his attention to those measures of reform which he had been anxious to carry, but which had been rendered impossible since his accession. The succession of disasters which had befallen his troops, from no want of hardihood and valour on their part, the defeats they had sustained from forces immeasurably inferior to them in numerical strength, and not better appointed than themselves, afforded the most conclusive evidence of the urgent necessity of military reform; but every attempt to carry out any measure of a sufficiently comprehensive character was hazardous in the extreme, owing to the gross ignorance and prejudices of the common people, and the insubordination of the Janizaries. But the state of the army was not the only cause of disquietude to the Sultan. The empire was greatly disturbed and weakened by the conduct of many of the Pashas of provinces, who had taken advantage of a period of national calamity to aggrandise themselves, and in some instances, to endeavour to secure their own independence. The excesses committed in Bulgaria by Paswan, and in Servia by Czerni Georges, may here be referred to, as examples of the disorganization and weakness of the Ottoman Government, under which events were permitted to occur hostile to the prosperity, and even the existence of the empire.

Paswan was the grandson of a chimney-sweeper in the city of Widdin, who having entered the army, had so distinguished himself as to obtain a considerable property in Moldavia as the reward of his valour, and who having educated his son Omar, was able to procure his advancement to the post of Bassi-aga, or chief of the district. Omar had two sons, one of whom, Osman, was surnamed Paswan Ogli, from his grandfather's business. The youth was educated by his father in military and political science, and exhibited great ability and energy of character. Omar and his son Paswan were extremely popular in Widdin, and in 1788, it was apparent that their authority was supreme in the city and district, so as to become a source of just alarm in the capital. Mahmoud, a Pasha, with an army of twelve thousand men, was despatched

to Widdin, which he besieged for three months, and the father and son were at length under the necessity of escaping into Wallachia, where, under Prince Maurosini, they were established at Georgiewo to resist the Austrian army at that place. Omar, however, was completely unsuccessful, and being defeated in an action, fled to the fortress of Kulla, within a few leagues of Widdin, now in the hands of Mahmoud, the Pasha who had expelled him, and who had been rewarded for his success by being appointed to the pashalik. His return to the district was no sooner made known to his enemy the Pasha, than he sent a force to Kulla to take him prisoner. Omar was then carried to Widdin, and because of his extraordinary popularity, privately put to death. His son Paswan, however, determined to revenge his father's death, and by a series of acts of almost unexampled heroism, he not only succeeded in possessing himself of the fortress of Widdin, but of the person of the Pasha himself. This occurrence took place in the year of Selim's accession to the Ottoman throne; and it may be added, without entering on particulars, that so completely had Paswan contrived to consolidate his power, that, in 1796, an army of fifty thousand men, sent to reduce Widdin, were obliged to negotiate a peace with the rebel. This negotiation, however, was to little purpose. Paswan continued his revolutionary proceedings, and after a series of successful exploits, became all but undisputed master of the provinces of Bulgaria and Servia. Every effort of the Porte to oppose this powerful subject of the Sultan was vain; and, so far from effecting his destruction, the Sultan found it necessary to enter on a treaty elevating him to the dignity of a Pasha of the highest rank. The efforts of the Sultan were now directed to his favourite and most important scheme of reducing the power of the Janizaries, and thereby improving the military discipline and organization of his troops. The attempt, however, only served to add to the influence and popularity of Paswan, around whose standard the discontented Janizaries rallied; and had not the sudden death of this bold and successful adventurer occurred, a civil war would have originated which might have terminated in consequences most

disastrous to the empire, and perhaps even fatal to the Ottoman dynasty.

While such instances of insubordination were occurring in the Sultan's European territories, the distant parts of the empire were distracted by the proceedings of the Wahabees. This sect, which had its origin about the middle of the last century, in the tribe of Nedshi in Yemen, was founded by the Sheik Mohammad, son of Abd el Waheb, in whose honour they obtained their distinctive appellation. They professed to reform Islamism, and to reduce it to its primitive simplicity, rejecting the worship of the Prophet as gross idolatry, while adhering rigidly to the Kur-án, as well as all the religious rites of Islamism, and all the prescribed prayers and genuflexions, the fast of the Ramadan, and abstinence from all intoxicating liquors. Without molesting either Jews or Christians, they put to death every Muslim who would not renounce the worship of the Prophet.

Their founder having converted several of the Arabian tribes to his views, made an expedition into Syria and the countries bordering on the Euphrates, where he formed his followers into a distinct nation, under the government of Eben Send, while he himself became their Imám, or spiritual chief. It does not appear, however, that their proceedings attracted much notice in Constantinople till the reign of Selim III., when, by his order, the Pasha of Baghdad was ordered to exterminate them. The attempt was, however, ineffectual; and, emboldened by their successful opposition to the Porte, they at length captured Mekkeh, when they established their power and overthrew that of the Sultan. Eben Send now fixed his residence at Dreich, and surrounded himself with all the splendour of an Oriental sovereign. Medeeneh and other places in Arabia soon fell into their hands; and so greatly had their power increased, that they endeavoured to capture Baghdad and Bussorah. In this enterprise, however, they were unsuccessful; but they compelled the Porte to pay a tribute for permission to send an escort from Damascus with the annual caravan of pilgrims to the birth-place of the Prophet. Soon after the beginning of the present century,

the Wahabees attained the summit of their power; and although their authority has been since diminished, they still maintain their ground, in a great measure, constituting a powerful body, and occasioning great inconvenience both to the Ottoman government and to the numerous pilgrims who resort both to Mekkeh and Medeeneh, and to whose views they are inflexibly opposed.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

A.D. 1796—1808.

Continuation of disastrous circumstances—Napoleon Buonaparte—Egyptian expedition—War with France—Defeat of the Ottoman forces by Buonaparte—Capture of Gaza and Jaffa—Siege of St. Jean d'Acre—Gallant defence of the fortress—Battle of Aboukir—The Mameluke Beys—The British army in Egypt—Restoration of the province to the Sultan—Selim III. endeavours to effect certain military reforms—Difficulty and danger of the attempt—War with Russia and England—The English fleet enters the Dardanelles, and is compelled to retreat—Naval engagement between the Russian and Ottoman fleets—Insurrection in Constantinople and abdication of Selim III.—Accession of Mustafa IV.—Treaty of Tilsit—Efforts of Bairactar to reinstate Selim—Death of that prince and dethronement of Mustafa IV.

A COMBINATION of circumstances of the most injurious character had thus arisen to employ the talent of Sultan Selim. He found himself surrounded by perplexities and dangers. The Russian invasion had produced consequences highly injurious to the prosperity of the state. The Pashas taking advantage of the opportunity, had committed the greatest ravages and defied his authority; the Janizaries threatened the stability of the throne by their insubordination, and a large portion of the more distant provinces were in the power of the sect of the Wahabees. To add to these evils, a new and unexpected enemy presented himself.

Napoleon Buonaparte was now rapidly advancing in that brilliant career which at length gained him a throne. The most signal success had attended his Italian campaigns, and on his return to the French capital he was received with unbounded applause. That extraordinary man, however, was

too sagacious not readily to perceive that in order not only to increase but even to maintain the popularity he had already gained, continued military activity was indispensable. He could not fail to observe that the only mode of allaying the revolutionary spirit at home, was to flatter the vanity of France by a succession of conquests abroad. The most brilliant of all exploits appeared to be the subjugation of Britain, whose supremacy at sea had already so grievously thwarted his views by the succession of defeats sustained by the fleet of France. The invasion of Britain had become the favourite scheme of the Directory; but Buonaparte had too much military skill not to perceive the extreme difficulty or rather impossibility of any such attempt. There were, however, other modes besides those of direct invasion, by which it seemed to him that he might strike a blow against the power of Britain. He resolved, therefore, to seize upon Egypt, and by establishing a French colony in that part of Africa, assume the command both of the Levant and the Red Sea, and so threaten the gigantic empire which British genius had established and maintained in India. The First Consul, however, found great difficulty in bending the Directory to his views, but having finally overruled their objections, a large force was collected and placed under the command of some of the ablest officers of the French army, and in the spring of 1798, the celebrated French expedition sailed from Toulon, escorted by the fleet of Admiral Brueys.

On the 19th of May this formidable armament sailed from the French coast. Malta was soon reached, and the fortress surrendered. On the 29th of the following month the expedition reached Alexandria. The city was taken by storm, and cruelly given over to military execution, in order at an early stage of the campaign to strike terror into the natives, and demonstrate to them the folly of opposing their invaders.

Buonaparte now issued a proclamation declaring that he came to Egypt as the Sultan's friend to free the province from the power of the Mamelukes, and expressing at the same time a high degree of respect for the religion of Islam, in order, doubtless, to conciliate the Mohammadans, and, if pos-

sible, blind the Ottoman Porte to the real object of his expedition. The power of Egypt was entirely in the hands of the Beys, who governed its provinces, and over whom the Pasha possessed but little authority. To conciliate that officer, Buonaparte entered into arrangements by which the same share of authority hitherto received should still be accorded to him on the defeat of the Mamelukes. From Alexandria the French force marched to Cairo, and the signal defeat of the Mameluke troops in the battle of the Pyramids was speedily followed by the subjugation of the whole of Egypt. But while this success accompanied the French force on land, the fleet which had carried them into Egypt was totally destroyed by the British force under Nelson, in the Battle of the Nile.

The Sultan now declared war against the French, and having called on the Egyptians to aid him in exterminating the invaders, prepared an army at Rhodes and in Syria. Buonaparte, however, resolved to anticipate the attack by hastening towards Syria and engaging the one army, before the other could arrive at Alexandria. Having, therefore, celebrated with great splendour the Mohammadan festival of the Ramadan, and left with Dessaix a force sufficient to keep possession of his new conquests, he marched toward the frontiers of Syria in the beginning of February 1799, with fifteen thousand of his best troops.

The subsequent events are so well known that a mere outline of them is all that is requisite. The French army having crossed the wide desert between El Arish and Gaza, defeated the Ottoman force concentrated at the latter place, and captured the fortress itself, with all its treasures and military stores. Jaffa next fell into the hands of Napoleon, after a fierce attack of two days, and was given over to unrestrained pillage. The French army now marched on to St, Jean d'Acre, a highly important stronghold, constituting, indeed, the key of Syria. Djezzar Pasha, the governor of the province, had retreated thither with all his treasures, and resolved to defend himself to the last. Buonaparte expected that the ancient fortress against which he was now preparing his

attack would fall into his hands an easy prey, and enable him speedily to subjugate the remainder of the province; but never was that sagacious general more grievously disappointed. Two days before the French army appeared before the fortress, two British ships of war, accompanied by some smaller vessels, sailed into the harbour under the command of the gallant Sir Sidney Smith. Nothing could be more opportune than the arrival of this squadron, for the subsequent day beheld a French flotilla approaching the place, bearing the battering train intended for the siege. The French vessels were immediately captured by Sir Sidney, and the guns intended to batter the fortress were mounted on the ancient ramparts to aid in its defence.

The efforts made by Buonaparte to capture this fortress prove the high value he annexed to it in a military point of view. "The fate of the East," he is reported to have said, "is in yonder fort." He commenced the siege on the 18th of March, and carried it on with all the skill and activity he possessed. An incessant cannonade was directed against the fortifications, and mines were sunk with unremitting labour; everything that military experience could accomplish was done, but day after day the old fortress remained impregnable. The Turkish troops, mindful of the massacre of Jaffa, fought with the energy imparted by such a danger, and the English force laboured incessantly in aiding them. While the siege was in progress, Napoleon, learning that an Ottoman army had advanced as far as Mount Tabor, found it requisite to leave a portion of his force to continue operations against the fortress, while he himself went with the remainder to repulse them. The Ottoman troops were entirely defeated, and the French general returning, renewed the siege with redoubled activity. A considerable breach had been already made, although with a great loss to the besiegers, and the repeated assaults of the enemy placed the fortress in extreme peril, and before any reinforcement could have reached it, Acre might have fallen into the hands of the French, but for the timely aid of Sir Sidney Smith, who, manning his boats with every sailor that could be spared, rushed to defend those breaches into which

the veterans of France were entering. Soon after, the Turkish fleet arrived from Rhodes, and added materially to the force of the besieged, by bringing a regiment from Constantinople, which had been trained under the Sultan's patronage in the military tactics which he had so anxiously but vainly endeavoured to induce the Janizaries to adopt. The fortress continued to defy every effort made by the besiegers. Every assault was repulsed. A vast number of the French troops fell beneath the walls, among whom were several officers of rank; and after a siege of sixty days, conducted with the utmost skill and the fiercest determination on the part of the French, Napoleon found it vain to persist in the attempt, and confessed himself foiled. The French army now retraced their steps into Egypt, devastating the country as they proceeded, and marking their disastrous route by burning the towns and villages through which they passed, putting the inhabitants to the sword. After great hardships endured in crossing the desert in the height of summer, they arrived on the 1st of June in Egypt, and a fortnight after, Buonaparte entered Cairo, with an army greatly weakened and dispirited, and deprived of a great part of their artillery. A month was now passed by the French in comparative tranquillity, during which Buonaparte was occupied in regulating the administration of affairs in the province, and listening to the accounts of the discoveries made, and the theories formed by the corps of scientific and literary savans who had accompanied the expedition from France. But in the middle of July intelligence was brought that a Turkish army had landed at Aboukir, under protection of the English fleet, and Buonaparte instantly marched to oppose them.

On arriving at the scene of action, the First Consul found the most formidable Turkish army he had yet met with prepared to encounter him. It extended across the promontory of Aboukir in two lines, the one strengthened by a village in its centre, and the other by a fort. The numbers of the Ottoman forces greatly exceeded those of the French, but the disparity was more than compensated by the vast superiority of the latter in military skill and discipline. In

an incredibly short time both flanks of the Ottoman army were turned, and Murat annihilated the cavalry of the Janizaries. The Ottoman army was completely overthrown, and Napoleon, who had only recently learned the state of Europe, by means of newspapers furnished to him by the British fleet during a truce, resolved immediately to return to France. Having remained for a few days at Cairo to complete his instructions to General Kleber, he embarked at Alexandria, escaped the British fleet, and was safely landed in France.

The Ottoman armies were wholly inadequate to the task of expelling the French from Egypt, and the duty devolved on the army of England, a force which, although it could not surpass the French army in the qualities of courage and gallantry, was superior to it in military discipline. After a severe struggle, the province of Egypt was again restored to its late masters. The result of the French expedition was fatal to the Mameluke Beys of Egypt. The Ottoman Porte finding their strength diminished by a lengthened contest, in which they had suffered so many disastrous defeats, resolved to seize the opportunity so presented of terminating for ever a power which had rendered merely nominal the authority of the Sultan himself. The scheme by which this intention was accomplished casts a foul blot on the barbarians who designed and executed it. The surviving representatives of this once formidable race of soldiers were invited to a friendly entertainment on board the ship of the Ottoman admiral, and treacherously attacked in their boats, and many put to death. The remainder, after maintaining an unequal struggle with Mohammad Ali Pasha, were induced to enter the castle of Cairo, with the expectation of a friendly conference, and there, in shameful violation of all good faith, massacred without mercy. The French expedition, therefore, was in a great measure the cause of the extinction of the Mamelukes; thus affording to the English great facilities for the re-establishment of the Ottoman power in Egypt, in correspondence with the articles of the treaty of Amiens.

It has been already mentioned that the regiment which the Sultan had instructed in the improved system of Euro-

pean discipline performed excellent service at the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, and thus exhibited the judgment of Selim in his endeavours to institute universally among his troops a degree of discipline which added so greatly to their effectiveness, and which indeed was absolutely requisite to place them in any degree on an equality with those of other nations of Europe. On their return from Acre, after the evacuation of Syria by Buonaparte, the brave and successful defenders of that important fortress were received with unbounded delight by the inhabitants of Constantinople; and the Sultan resolved to seize the opportunity which public enthusiasm gave him of establishing a corps independent of the Janizaries, and paid from a separate fund. The project, however, met with the most violent opposition, both from the 'Ulama and the Janizaries. The Aga of that corps was then in Syria, and his lieutenant espoused the cause of the Sultan, while the Muftee exerted his influence to reconcile the 'Ulama to the new arrangements, so that a decree was passed authorising the formation of a new army on the plan proposed, to be called Nizam Djeddit—the number of which, however, in deference to the opposition of the Janizaries, was limited to 12,000 men. Barracks were forthwith erected for them on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorus, and every arrangement made to render effectual the project of the Sultan as to their discipline and organization. Notwithstanding the acknowledged superiority of the new levy, and the valuable services they soon rendered in extirpating the banditti infesting Bulgaria and Roumelia, which had defied the utmost energies of the provincial governors, the Janizaries cherished the utmost hatred against them, the Sultan became extremely unpopular, and this unpopularity reached its height, when in 1805 he issued a decree to strengthen and recruit the obnoxious force, by selecting young men from the Janizaries themselves.

Selim III. deserved the highest credit for his efforts to accomplish this important reform, and for the courage which he manifested in endeavouring to complete his design. The necessity of military reform had for many ages pressed itself

on the attention of his predecessors; but the extreme hazard of any attempt to innovate on the ancient system had hitherto deterred the bravest of the Sultans from anything more than very feeble efforts towards that end. More than three centuries ago, the following opinions of them were expressed by Busbek, who wrote from the Turkish camp, as being those entertained by their great military leader, whose very name was then the terror of Europe:—In consequence of a dispute between some Janizaries and the people of an ambassador, that writer informs us that the Grand Vizier sent a messenger to him requesting that he would cut off all occasion of disputes with the Janizaries, as "the worst of men." "You know," said the Vizier, "it is now a time of war, when they may be said to reign rather than the Sultan, who himself stands in awe of them. The truth is," he continued, "though there may be some use of a standing guard and a militia, yet there are also many inconveniences attending it, of which this is the chief. Their Emperor is very fearful of them, lest, having the sword in their hands, they should alter the government as they please, of which there have been many precedents." Nearly a century afterwards, Warrington, referring to the same subject, remarks that "the wound in the Turkish monarchy uncured and incurable is the power which the Janizaries possess of exciting sedition." And in the middle of the seventeenth century, the celebrated Kiuperli, whose politic conduct entitles him to be called the Burleigh of the Ottoman court, was understood to have designed a war with Germany, and to have enjoined on his son its prosecution, for the express purpose of endeavouring to extirpate in the course of it the Janizaries of the Turkish army. Accordingly in 1664, it was arranged that those brave but unruly soldiers should be constantly exposed to the greatest dangers in every battle, until "the valiantest soldiers and best number of their expert captains perished promiscuously, to the great damage and weakness of the Ottoman power." These circumstances and many of a similar kind indicate the importance as well as the danger of the projects of reform undertaken by the Sultan Selim III. The plan of the

Sultan was, as just stated, that of drafting from the Janizaries picked men, and forming them into separate regiments, so as by slow degrees to supersede the ancient troops. One of his most zealous coadjutors in this scheme was the distinguished and ungratefully-treated Hassan, put to death after the battle of Rimnik. Another plan proposed by Bairactar, a faithful and sagacious adviser of the Sultan, was that of only reforming the Janizaries without substituting other troops in their place.

The result of these attempts to reform the discipline of the Ottoman army we shall hereafter refer to. Meantime it is requisite to observe, that, while Selim was making the utmost efforts to effect his purpose, Sebastiani, the representative of Buonaparte, contrived to instigate the Turkish ministry, against the express stipulations of the treaty of Amiens, to change the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, and thus to involve Turkey in a war with Russia and England. The position of Selim now became one of extreme difficulty and embarrassment; not only was he exposed to the machinations of Russia, but to the power of France on land, and that of England at sea.

The English ambassador in vain endeavoured to bring about a favourable arrangement between his government and the Porte; and at last, finding his efforts ineffectual and a violent feeling of animosity prevailing, he quitted Constantinople on the 20th January 1807, and from the frigate in which he had taken refuge, endeavoured to accomplish his objects by repeated representations to the Ottoman government. On the failure of his efforts, an English fleet under Admiral Duckworth entered the Dardanelles, and passing with the tide, and a fair wind, the formidable batteries on both sides of the channel, entered the Propontis, and destroyed a Turkish ship of the line, and five frigates, and approached within a few miles of the imperial city. This measure, so far from leading to favourable results, excited the utmost fury in the Turkish capital. The Sultan himself was carried along with the popular feeling, and the French ambassador and his suite gave their valuable assistance in

strengthening the defences of Constantinople. The English admiral, after having in vain attempted to intimidate the Divan, at length found it requisite to set sail, and make his escape through the Dardanelles before the active preparations of the Turks rendered his exit from the sea of Marmora impossible. He fortunately succeeded in his object, although not without the loss of several men, and considerable injury to some of his ships.*

The English now projected a descent upon Egypt. The shattered remains of the celebrated Mameluke Beys were naturally desirous of regaining their authority in that province; and in this desire they were supported by the influence of England. The English commanders in the Mediterranean, however, entertaining a very unfavourable opinion of the efficiency of the Ottoman armies, were led to adopt means which proved inadequate to accomplish the purposes of an invasion. The force despatched on an expedition of so much moment amounted only to about 5000 men. On landing in Egypt the soldiers were most favourably received in Alexandria, but on proceeding to Rosetta, a great disaster befel them. The gates were opened for their reception, and by this circumstance they were probably thrown off their guard. On entering the narrow streets, they were instantly attacked by a considerable force, who poured upon them a murderous fire from the windows and loopholes of the houses, and from every

* Favoured by the winds and the current, the captains had at first occupied themselves very little in attending to the Turkish batteries, however numerously manned and zealously served; but the enormous cannon near the old castle, which Baron de Tott exerted such labour to render effective, proved on this memorable occasion its sweeping range; This destructive engine discharging one of its enormous marble balls, the Windsor Castle received the blow, which made a frightful breach in her side, and broke the mainmast between decks; another of these projectiles struck the Standard on the poop, and overthrew everything in its progress, nearly sixty men being killed or wounded by this single ball. Fortunately the greatest number of these enormous balls were fired in vain, the immobility of the ordnance rendering it necessary to fire at the precise instant when a vessel was passing in the immediate direction of the cannon's mouth. Sir John Duckworth, having returned to the road of Tenedos without the loss of a single vessel, prepared to set sail for Malta, and thence to the shores of Egypt.—*Upham*, ii., 329.

available point, and who were themselves secure from assault by the positions which they occupied. The English force, utterly unable to defend themselves, were almost annihilated, and the few who escaped the carnage found that the situation of those who remained in Alexandria had, in consequence of their defeat, become critical in the extreme. An attempt immediately afterwards made to reduce Rosetta proved wholly unsuccessful, in consequence of the able and vigorous conduct of the Pasha. Eventually the English capitulated, and quitted Egypt, while at the same time the English fleets were withdrawn from the Archipelago.

A naval engagement which soon after took place between the Ottoman and the Russian fleets terminated in the departure of the latter from the Ægean, and left the Porte at liberty to direct its attention to the affairs of the provinces, for which important object the victories of Buonaparte in other parts of Europe afforded a highly favourable opportunity. The various pashaliks in Europe and Asia were called upon for an extraordinary levy, and Mustafa Bairactar, a most skilful and energetic general, as well as a most faithful friend of the Sultan, was advanced to the dignity of Vizier. The new army thus raised, consisting in a great measure of Janizaries from various parts of the empire, having been reviewed with great pomp by the Sultan, was despatched towards Shumla, while the Nizam Djeddit, to obviate the difficulties which might otherwise have arisen, were not incorporated with the rest of the forces, but disposed of in the various batteries along the coast.

It was requisite that Mustafa Bairactar should proceed to the provinces in command of the army, and this circumstance, together with the death of the Muftee, which now occurred, and who was a man of great enlightenment, as well as of great fidelity to his master, proved fatal to the Sultan, whom it left exposed to the secret malice of those who were unfriendly to the new military arrangements he had introduced. The Sultan elected to the important office of Muftee a person whom he supposed likely to aid him in his plans, but who, under a fair exterior, concealed the bitterest hatred to the Nizam

Djeddit, as well as to Selim himself, their patron, and to many of the principal members of the Divan. His secret purpose of overthrowing the new military schemes was fully participated in by another traitor named Musa, who also owed his advancement to the authority of Kaimakan, to his hypocritical approbation of the military reform. The departure of the troops from Constantinople, and the absence of the most faithful as well as sagacious supporters of the Sultan, offered a favourable opportunity to the traitors for carrying out the plot which they had formed.

Incorporated with the regiments of the Nizam Djeddit, in the various fortresses of the Bosphorus, there were about two thousand Albanians, as assistants at the batteries. These adventurers Selim used every means in his power to render favourable to the new discipline; but Musa contrived to remove every favourable impression made upon them by enlisting among them some of the Janizaries, who represented to them that they of right belonged to their ancient order, and ought to hold in contempt the endeavours of the Sultan to assimilate them with the soldiers of the infidels. The Albanians were thus excited to rebellion, and on being called upon to assume the uniform chosen by Selim, attacked Mahmoud-effendi, who had gone to the principal fortress on the Bosphorus, to pay the troops and bestow on them their new clothing. Mahmoud was defended by the Nizam Djeddit, and contrived by their aid to escape in a boat, but, on endeavouring to land, was seized upon by the Albanians, who had followed him along the shore, and put to death. The other batteries of the Bosphorus joined in the rebellion. The soldiers of the Nizam Djeddit were overpowered by the Yamaks, and driven from their posts, and the commandant shared the fate of Mahmoud. Musa now declared to the Albanians that the opportunity was arrived for completely overturning the new military institutions. Having assembled on the plains of Buyukdere, they marched into the city, while the infamous Musa had contrived, after a friendly entertainment in his palace, to put to death some of the most faithful officers of the Sultan. On entering Constantinople, the Albanian rebels

were joined by such of the disaffected Janizaries as had been left in the capital. Their first victims were those already marked out by the hatred of Musa and the Muftee, whom Selim, at the representations of the malignant traitors, permitted to be put to death, issuing at the same time a decree suppressing the new military institutions which it had cost him so much trouble and anxiety to organize. But the hatred of the two traitors to the Sultan himself could not be satisfied with this triumph, and by their intrigues the multitude were incited to demand the deposition of Selim, and the elevation of Mustafa, the son of Abdul Hamid, to the Ottoman throne. Selim saw that it was useless to offer any opposition, and in compliance with the popular desire, resigned his crown to Mustafa. This event put a period to his plans for the improvement of the troops. The Nizam Djeddit finding their implacable adversaries triumphant, and the Sultan dethroned, disbanded themselves, and hastened to regain their native provinces.

The new Sultan possessed, like his father Abdul Hamid, a feeble character, and was wholly unfitted to meet with firmness the exigencies of the time. It was immediately apparent that, being himself destitute of sufficient abilities, he must necessarily become the tool of those energetic but unscrupulous persons to whom he owed his elevation to the supreme authority. The Muftee indeed, together with the other hypocrite and traitor Musa, exercised the sovereign power without control.

While these events were occurring in Turkey, the Emperor Napoleon was pursuing his brilliant career in the war with Russia. Early in June 1807 the famous battle of Friedland was fought, which may be justly said to have almost completely broken the power of the Emperor Alexander. Napoleon, however, was not disposed to continue the course he had hitherto pursued, and listened to the advances made by his northern adversary for the establishment of peace. Accordingly, the celebrated treaty of Tilsit was concluded between the belligerents, by which their intention was to divide between them the whole sovereignty of Europe. Among the stipula-

tions of this treaty, there was one which referred to the Ottoman Empire, and ran as follows:—"If, in consequence of the recent changes which have occurred at Constantinople (viz., the deposition of Selim III.; and the elevation of Mustafa to the throne), the Porte shall not accept the mediation of France; or if, having accepted it, it shall happen that during the course of three months, the negotiations are not brought to a satisfactory conclusion, France will make common cause with Russia against the Ottoman Porte, and the two high contracting powers will concert measures to withdraw all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire in Europe (Constantinople and the province of Roumelia excepted), from the yoke and vexations of the Turk." It is obvious that the elevation of Mustafa was regarded both by Buonaparte and Alexander as affording a favourable opportunity to dismember Turkey, and divide the empire between them. This opportunity was rendered the more valuable by the intrigues of the Muftee and Musa, between whom there had long existed a secret but intense degree of hatred, and which led to gross neglect of the interests of the Ottoman Empire, which might, under a vigorous and sagacious executive, have been materially advanced during the success of Napoleon against the Russian arms.

The reign of Mustafa, and the domination of the two unprincipled ministers to whom he owed his throne, were not destined to be of very long duration. Bairactar, the faithful and affectionate friend of Selim, resolved to avenge his fall, and, if possible, to restore him to the sovereignty. The Muftee, exercising his powerful influence in the 'Ulama and the soldiery, had already succeeded in procuring the banishment of Musa, and the Kaimakan, who had been appointed to succeed him, represented to Bairactar the possibility of restoring his beloved and injured master, by a vigorous movement upon Constantinople at the head of his troops. Bairactar had already succeeded in awakening the jealousy of the Grand Vizier and the chief officers of state against the Muftee and the leaders of those Yamaks who had been mainly instrumental in the deposition of Selim. He advanced, therefore, with his troops to Hadrianople, whence the Grand Vizier proceeded to

Constantinople with the Sanjak-sheriff,* and thus gained possession of the city, whither he was immediately followed by Bairactar and his Albanian troops. That intrepid and energetic leader now easily procured the punishment of the Muftee and the Yamaks, and finding the Grand Vizier averse to the restoration of Selim, he seized upon and threw him into prison; and on the 28th of July pressed on with his soldiers to the seraglio, bearing the sacred standard, the authority of which gained him and his soldiers admission to the outer court of the palace. The inner entrance, however, was closed against him; but he had brought forward his artillery, and was resolved to blow the gates to pieces, if the refusal to admit him were persisted in.

While he was demanding admission, and openly proclaiming his intention to reinstate Selim, the Sultan Mustafa returned to the palace by the private entrance on the Bosphorus, and ordered Bairactar to be informed that, as he desired the re-appearance of Selim, his desire should be granted. That unfortunate monarch, therefore, was immediately strangled, and his body cast down before his faithful follower, who now gained an entrance into the interior of the palace. Overpowered by grief, Bairactar threw himself on the remains of his beloved master, incapable, from the intensity of his emotion, of thinking of anything beyond the irreparable loss which he had sustained. Aroused, however, by one of his sorrowing companions from the absorbing power of his grief, he instantly resolved to arrest Mustafa and elevate Prince Mahmoud, his brother, to the throne. The enraged soldier now found all the inhabitants of the seraglio obedient to his commands. Mustafa was instantly arrested and conveyed to prison, and Mahmoud, who had been in imminent peril, was discovered secreted in the furnace of a bath, into which he had crept at the suggestion of a faithful attendant.

* Some of our readers may perhaps require to be informed that the Sanjak-sheriff is supposed to be the curtain of the chamber door of Mohammad's favourite wife, and is kept as the palladium of the Turkish Empire. No infidel is supposed to look on it with impunity. It is carried to battle with great formality before the Sultan or Vizier, and its return is hailed by all the citizens of the capital, who go forth to meet it.

Thus terminated the reign of the feeble Mustafa, who had succeeded a prince highly deserving of the veneration of his country, and the approbation of Europe. The efforts of this very amiable monarch had, during his reign, been by no means limited to those military reforms, the effects of which were so fatal to himself; but he directed his attention to every improvement calculated to add to the prosperity and happiness of his subjects. Under his fostering care, manufactures had begun to flourish. Some thousands of looms, under the encouragement to which his enlightened patronage gave birth, were in vigorous operation in making the silk and other stuffs used by the Turkish people. In Scutari, where Selim had built a pier for the convenience of trading vessels, immense quantities of goods manufactured in Britain, India, and Germany, were dyed and printed in a superior style. He had also established a large printing office in Scutari, in which there were ten presses, and conjoined with which was a paper mill. These spirited efforts, however, in addition to his zeal for the absolutely requisite improvement of his army, only subjected him to the hatred of his fanatical and ignorant subjects. This excellent prince was far in advance of his age, and fell a victim to his own enlightened patriotism, which his subjects could neither understand nor appreciate.

CHAPTER XXIX.

A. D. 1808—1827.

Accession of Sultan Mahmoud II.—Severity of the Grand Vizier Bairactar—Bairactar in favour of military reform—Insurrection in Constantinople, and death of the Grand Vizier—The late Sultan Mustafa IV. put to death—Renewal of the struggle with Russia—The treaty of Bucharest—Advantages thereby gained by Russia—The Wahabees Affairs of Greece—Sufferings of the Greek Christians—Execution of the Patriarch of Constantinople, &c.—Destruction of the Ottoman fleet at Navarino—Ibrahim Pasha evacuates the Morea—Establishment of the independence of Greece.

MAHMOUD II., now raised to the Ottoman throne, proved a worthy successor to the amiable but unfortunate Selim. He possessed not only an enlightened mind, but a generous and magnanimous spirit, and was fully convinced of the value of those alterations which Selim had made, and of the necessity of those reforms which he had been so desirous of introducing. He ascended the throne at a period of the highest interest to the philosophical historian, who delights to trace in the difficulties, the struggles, and the wars of nations, the operation of those principles of the human mind by which great social and political problems are solved, and the welfare of the human race advanced, in the advancement of intelligence, liberty, and civilization.

On Mahmoud's accession, Bairactar, whose fidelity admitted of as little doubt as his courage and military skill, was immediately advanced to the office of prime minister. Almost his first act was to avenge the death of his benefactor the late Sultan, and this he did with the utmost severity. Musa, the infamous traitor by whose insidious arts Selim had been betrayed, was put to death, and his head placed in a conspi-

cuous position, along with those of thirty-three of his coadjutors, at the gate of the seraglio. The officers of the Yamaks, and all connected with the imperial residence, who had countenanced or rejoiced in Selim's death, were destroyed without mercy, some being strangled, and others placed in sacks and cast from the walls into the Bosphorus.

Bairactar had too much sagacity, and too great experience not to perceive the necessity of that military reform which his eminent and enlightened patron the late Sultan had laboured so patriotically to effect. On assuming the seals of office, one of his earliest efforts was directed towards the accomplishment of this design. The measure, in order to stamp it with sufficient authority, was brought before a convocation of the Pashas of the empire, persons whose power in their respective provinces was scarcely second to that of the Sultan himself, and was agreed to with the utmost unanimity—the Pashas, either in person or by deputy, giving their full sanction to the projected arrangements, the chief design being to reduce as well as to control the power of the Janizaries, by raising up a new order of soldiers, accustomed to better discipline, and under that degree of subordination absolutely essential to success in military tactics. The sanction of the leading Pashas being thus obtained, the Muftee pronounced by a solemn decree, that the safety of the state demanded the adoption of the arrangements now to be made.

Bairactar immediately proceeded to carry out his design, by restoring the ancient order of the Siemens, placing them under the regulations of the Nizam Djeddit, and appointing over them commanders formerly belonging to that corps, as well as locating them in the barracks which had been erected at Scutari and Tchifflik. These measures, however, only exposed the Vizier to public odium. The 'Ulama and the Janizaries became his sworn foes, and resolved upon the destruction of a man who had adopted so completely the views which had cost the Sultan Selim his throne and his life. The opportunity they earnestly desired was not long wanting.

At the expiry of the long fast of the Ramadan, Bairactar,

according to the usual etiquette, paid a visit in his official character as Grand Vizier to the Muftee, accompanied by an armed guard of two hundred men. On issuing from his palace, the streets were thronged by the populace, and it was necessary for the guard to force a passage through the crowd. Bairactar accomplished his purpose in safety, but several persons had been slightly injured by his soldiers as they passed through the streets, and after the Grand Vizier had regained his palace, they went from café to café, stirring up the Janizaries against the object of their common hatred. The spark was thus applied to a train which had already been laid, and was sufficient to cause an instant explosion. The Janizaries assembled in thousands from their various quarters, and as Bairactar was enjoying himself at a magnificent banquet, his palace was set on fire, after his fierce and determined enemies had formed themselves round the devoted building to render escape from it impossible. Bairactar might, perhaps, have cut his way through his enemies by means of the large body of attendants who were within the walls of his palace, but it may be, however, that this attempt appeared to him impracticable. He therefore remained within the burning edifice, retreating, as it is presumed, as the fire advanced to a great tower in the centre of it, which he expected would be proof against the surrounding flames.

Meantime the tidings of his danger reached his friends, the Capitan Pasha and Cadi Pasha, who instantly took measures for his rescue. Cadi Pasha was posted at Scutari with four thousand troops to watch the conduct of the Janizaries at that place, and the Capitan Pasha despatched some of the old soldiers of Bairactar to enter the gates of Constantinople, and spread among the Janizaries at once the report that their intended victim had escaped, and that a large force was approaching to support him. These measures rendered the rebels uncertain how to act, and seemed to paralyse them. On the following night the city was shaken by an explosion in the burning palace of the Grand Vizier. The flames had reached the powder magazine, and the tower in which the unfortunate minister and his attendants are supposed to have taken refuge, was blown to atoms.

These terrible occurrences were but the prelude to scenes, if possible, still more dreadful. The fire of the Vizier's palace continued for several days, during which many fierce and sanguinary conflicts convulsed the capital. While the ships commanded by the Capitan Pasha fired upon the barracks of the Janizaries, Cadi Pasha, with a force of four thousand men and the artillery, attacked them on shore, setting fire, in one instance, to their barracks, and destroying five hundred men in the flames. On the other hand, the populace, taking the side of the Janizaries, retaliated upon the troops of the opposite party. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Cadi Pasha, a whole regiment of the Siemens were burnt to death in their barracks by the enraged Janizaries. The success they thus obtained emboldened them to rush to the entrance of the seraglio, demanding the dethronement of Mahmoud, and the restoration of Mustafa. This demand decided the fate of that feeble prince. Cadi Pasha, who occupied the palace, instantly presided over his execution, and thus deprived the revolutionists of the prospects of any other Sultan than the possessor of the throne. Mahmoud now perceived that he had nothing to fear from the Janizaries, and that it was useless as well as impolitic to continue his efforts to conciliate their good will towards the new troops, against whom they were inspired with irreconcilable hatred; he therefore ordered that the cannonade of the vessels should cease, and issued at the same time an ordinance declaring that the new troops as an order ceased to exist. These tidings gave unbounded satisfaction throughout the city, the Janizaries immediately returned to their allegiance, and the revolution was at an end; after having caused the total destruction of many valuable buildings, including the magnificent barracks of Scutari and Tchifflik; deluging the streets with the blood of thousands of the military, including many persons of high rank, and occasioning the destruction of a large number of that portion of the citizens who took but little part in the affray. While the ruins of the Grand Vizier's palace were yet smouldering, the feast of Bairam was celebrated with rejoicing, the Muftee and the 'Ulama addressed their congratulations to the Sultan on the triumph of their religion, the streets were cleansed from the blood of the slain,

and the obsequies of Mustafa being performed with great pomp, peace was at length completely restored.

The termination of those sanguinary tumults which had shaken his throne itself, and the prospect now opened of comparative tranquillity at the seat of government, enabled Mahmoud to direct his attention both to the affairs of the provinces and to the Russian war with greater energy than had been previously possible. The contest between the Ottoman Porte and the Emperor of Russia was now renewed with unexampled ferocity on both sides. The Russian army crossed the Danube in three places, and laid siege to Rutzschuk and Schumla, and were repulsed with great slaughter; but the success thus attained did not continue to follow the Turkish arms. Kaminski soon after routed the Turkish army, of which twelve thousand men were slain, and Rutzschuk and Giurgewo, on the opposite shores of the Danube, fell into the hands of the Russians, together with the whole Ottoman flotilla, and the Grand Vizier was obliged to retreat across the Balkans, after having provided, as well as his disastrous circumstances permitted, for the defence of Varna and Schumla. Under the new Grand Vizier Achmed Pasha, who was then appointed, a new army again took the field against the invaders, and by a series of well directed attacks, they were driven across the Danube. The Grand Vizier, however, imprudently followed the enemy, and that part of his army which crossed the river, after the severest sufferings, was compelled to surrender. The period from 1809 to 1812 did not exhibit any great permanent advantages gained by either party. Battle after battle was fought with varying success, and while Turkey was weakened by the continual struggle, Russia was no less exhausted by the tremendous energy with which Buonaparte pursued his victorious career, so as to be wholly unable to prosecute the Turkish war with sufficient vigour. At length, in 1812, the treaty of Bucharest put an end to the struggle at a juncture of the highest importance to the interests of Russia, enabling that power to unite its whole force in opposing the progress of the conqueror, and leading in a great measure to the utter demolition of the grand army at the passage of the Beresino.

It is highly remarkable that Turkey should have been led to make peace at a period when, of all others, the war could have been most advantageously prosecuted. The only mode, indeed, by which this apparent oversight can be accounted for, is, by presuming that the Ottoman power was so prostrated by the long continued war, as to be unable to take advantage of the highly favourable circumstances which now offered themselves.

Russia gained by the treaty of Bucharest other advantages besides the power of concentrating her army on the point most available. The boundary of the Russian territory had been previously marked by the Dniester. The articles of the treaty enabled her to advance her frontiers to the River Pruth; secured to her ships of war the right of ascending as far as the mouth of that river; gave to her merchant vessels the uninterrupted navigation of the Danube; secured an amnesty for the rebellious Servians, the demolition of all the Turkish fortresses in that province, and obliged the Ottoman Porte to mediate a peace between Russia and Persia. On the other hand, Russia became bound to surrender Anapa and other fortified places on the Asiatic side of the Black Sea, which had been taken from Turkey during the war.*

The peace, however, thus concluded with Russia, enabled Sultan Mahmoud to direct all his energies to the affairs of the provinces. The death of Paswan, whose martial exploits and remarkable success in establishing himself as Pasha of Widdin, have already been referred to, had restored the pashalik to the authority of the Sultan, together with a large amount of wealth which had been extorted from the people, and now served to supply the exhausted exchequer of the empire. Czerny, Prince of Servia, aided by the Russians, had succeeded, during the reign of Selim, in expelling the Turks from that province, and establishing an independent government. Having with great energy aided the designs of Russia, he at length refused to place in their hands the Servian fortresses which he possessed, and was accordingly aban-

* This part of the treaty was never fulfilled by Russia, and the evasion of it not only displayed the bad faith of Russia, but led to further conflict.

doned by his former allies at the treaty of Bucharest. He was thus exposed to the now undivided army of the Turks, who defeated him in 1813, and once more took possession of Belgrade. Mahmoud found it requisite to give his attention to other portions of his empire which had manifested a revolutionary spirit, or had thrown off their allegiance to his throne. He accordingly resolved to reduce to obedience those districts of Arabia in which the chief of the Wahabees had so completely established an independent sovereignty, that even the Shah of Persia condescended to cultivate his friendship.

Abdallah Ebn Sahoud, the sovereign of the Wahabees, aware of the intentions of the Sultan, and of the impending invasion by the forces of the Egyptian viceroy, raised an army of thirty thousand men, and made demands throughout the districts dependent on him for additional aid. In September 1816, Ibrahim, son of Mohammad Ali, Pasha of Egypt, proceeded with a flotilla from Suez, and without encountering opposition, landed his troops on the shores of Arabia, and marched to Medeeneh. The Wahabite prince had resolved, instead of encountering Ibrahim in a decisive engagement, to harass and weaken his troops by repeated minor assaults, as well as to destroy their shipping; but it was Ibrahim's policy to terminate the war as speedily as possible by a general battle. Several important tribes of Arabians attached themselves to the Egyptian leader, whose character as a warrior was highly admired by them, and their respect for him was still more increased by the circumstance that the Sultan conferred upon him the rank of Vizier. The Sheik of the important tribe of Monteyr, from motives of personal hatred to Abdallah, united his forces with those of the Egyptians, and before the lapse of two years, Ibrahim had contrived to detach from alliance with the Wahabite chief many of his most important and powerful allies. The capture of several of the strongest places in Abdallah's dominions enabled Ibrahim to invest Derayeh, the capital of the Wahabite sovereign. The siege of this place lasted about five months, and ultimately Abdallah, perceiving the hopelessness of protracting his defence, surrendered himself to the

Egyptians. He was taken to Constantinople, and barbarously put to death, together with many of his brave companions in arms, and thus the territories he had usurped once more reverted to the Sultan.

One of the most important matters to which the Sultan devoted his attention was the condition of Greece. The desire of independence had long been entertained by the Greek population of the Turkish Empire. They were, however, unarmed, the principal fortresses were in the hands of the government, and any open attempt to render themselves independent would result only in total destruction. Under such circumstances, the organization of a secret association, the members of which should gradually prepare for a simultaneous struggle, was the only measure likely to obtain success. A society was accordingly instituted with the most profound secrecy, called the society of the Hetairists, which, so far from being confined to Greece, extended over all the provinces of the Turkish Empire in Europe, and possessed adherents even in Austria and Russia. The constitution of this powerful confederacy deserves special attention. It possessed four different grades. The first or lowest grade was open to all the Greeks, and the only object of the society of which they were made aware was that of the general improvement of the condition of the Greek population of the Turkish Empire. The second grade consisted of members carefully selected, to whom was confided the real purpose of the society, viz., the emancipation of the Greeks from the Turkish yoke; the third grade included the priest and prelates of the Greek church, who were made aware not only of the special object of the society, but of the approach of the period when the struggle must begin; and the fourth and highest grade consisted of only a few names which were unknown, with the exception of that of Count Capo d'Istria, the private secretary to the Emperor Alexander of Russia, but was suspected, and not without good grounds, to contain several illustrious names, and even that of the Emperor himself. The members of this society naturally expected most efficient support from Russia, not merely because they belonged to the same church, but

from the apparently irreconcilable animosity subsisting between the sovereigns of Russia and Turkey, the aggressive policy of the former, and the efforts more than once made by Russia to excite an insurrection in Greece.

The revolutionary spirit which had thus been long secretly smouldering, burst into a flame early in 1821 in Walachia; and Theodore Vladimaruko, a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian army, the originator of the movement in that province, soon found himself at the head of twelve thousand men. This insurrection was immediately succeeded by a similar movement in Moldavia under Prince Alexander Ipsilanti, who, issuing a spirited proclamation, speedily collected a considerable force; while the most violent excesses were committed by the Greek population of Yassy and Galatz, where multitudes of the Mohammadans were cruelly massacred. The insurgents derived a considerable amount of confidence from their belief that in their proceedings they had the countenance of the Russian Emperor and the highest authorities in the Greek Church; but the Patriarch of Constantinople issued a proclamation calling upon the Greeks to remain faithful to their Sovereign, and the Russian ambassador at the Ottoman court gave the most solemn assurances to the Sultan that the Czar had given no encouragement to the insurgents. A severe blow was thus given to the revolutionary movement, and the Sultan prepared a force to reduce them to subjection, which it was vain for them to attempt to withstand. While these events were taking place in the northern provinces, the revolution broke out with the greatest fury in the south.

Ipsilanti transmitted orders to the chiefs of the confederacy in the Morea, and the Greeks flew to arms with incredible enthusiasm and activity. The most sanguinary scenes were enacted, and in the course of a few days nothing but a few fortresses remained in possession of the Turks, while the islands of the Archipelago, raising the standard of freedom, exerted themselves to the utmost in preparing to attack their enemies.

It is impossible to describe the effect produced in Constantinople by the tidings of this revolt. The fury of the

populace arose to the highest pitch, and the extermination of the Christians seemed the inevitable result of the commotion. The wrath of the Sultan and the Divan first vented itself on persons of the highest rank among the Christians. Gregory, the venerable Patriarch of Constantinople, a prelate of blameless life and exemplary character, who had evinced his fidelity to the state by the proclamation already referred to against the insurgents, and by personally assisting and encouraging the labourers on the ramparts of the city on the approach of the English fleet under Duckworth, a service for which he received a robe of honour from the Sultan, was seized on Easter Sunday, immediately after the performance of divine service, and hanged before the gate of his palace, together with his two chaplains and the bishops of Nicomedia, Ephesus, and Anchialos.* In Hadrianople, the Patriarch Cyril, and eight other ecclesiastics of high rank, were decapitated, and many other prelates elsewhere were put to death. The Greek churches were broken open and pillaged, and in the course of a few days many thousands of innocent persons were slaughtered, and their wives and daughters carried off and sold as slaves.

These proceedings were only the precursors of others which for atrocity and violence find scarcely any parallel in the history of human passion. In Smyrna, in which, in a population of one hundred and eighty thousand, only one-third were Christians, the tidings of the insurrection in the northern provinces caused the utmost degree of excitement among the fanatical Mohammadans, and a battle gained by

* The venerable Patriarch was hanged in his robes. His person, attenuated by abstinence and emaciated by age, had not sufficient weight to cause immediate death. He continued for a long time in pain, which no friendly hand dared to abridge, and the darkness of night came on before the last convulsions were over. His corpse was afterwards dragged through the streets of the city and thrown into the Propontis. The stones employed to sink it became detached, and it floated. The captain of a Russo-Greek vessel, as it floated past, recognized it by the long white beard, took it on board, embalmed it, and carried it to Odessa. The body was then laid in state, dressed in rich patriarchal vestments, sent by the Emperor Alexander for the express purpose, and then interred with all possible respect and honour.

the insurgents of Greece over the Ottoman fleet, precipitated the event which the trembling Christians had too much reason to dread. Three thousand Turks, fully armed, broke into the Greek quarter of the city, and a scene of bloodshed ensued which baffles description, the houses were pillaged and burnt, and the most frightful atrocities committed. The male population were indiscriminately butchered, together with multitudes of women and children. About fifteen thousand only made their escape out of a Christian population of four times that number. In Cyprus equal atrocities were perpetrated. Ten thousand troops from the adjoining provinces of Syria, spread desolation throughout the island. Every village was a scene of plunder and bloodshed. The chief towns were sacked and burnt, the Metropolitan, five bishops, and a multitude of other ecclesiastics, were put to death, the Christian population butchered without distinction, and their wives and daughters made the slaves of the ruthless assassins. By the perpetration of such enormities the revolutionary movement, instead of being suppressed, was rapidly spread over the whole of Greece. The Greeks, driven to desperation, and perceiving that their only hope lay in a determined resistance, speedily proved, that notwithstanding the oppression under which for centuries they had suffered, they required only to be aroused by a sufficient stimulus to show that they were far from being unworthy descendants of those illustrious heroes whose valour is immortalized in the pages of classic history. A considerable fleet was rapidly equipped, by which many valuable prizes were taken from the Turks, and many naval exploits performed, not exceeded in gallantry by any upon record in any age. The Greek naval force, although composed for the most part of comparatively small vessels, proved unquestionably superior to the Ottoman navy. On land the Greeks were exposed to severe losses, and were consequently much disheartened; but they resolved to make one great and last attempt to achieve their independence. The battle of Valtezza, which was the result of this resolution, laid the foundation of their subsequent success. Colocotroni took up his position at that village with only about five thousand men.

The place was eminently adapted for defence, but from want of water for the troops, they could not long remain in it. The Turkish force, about equal to the Greeks in number, and consisting chiefly of cavalry, lay in the fortress of Tripolitza, a few miles distant; and the Ottoman general having resolved to terminate by a decisive blow the series of successes already obtained, marched from his quarters to the attack. A conflict ensued of the utmost obstinacy, which lasted for two days, and terminated in the defeat of the Turks. This result was of the highest importance to the Greek cause, from the effect it had on raising the spirits of its supporters, who had been greatly depressed by preceding disasters. The Greek army speedily numbered twenty thousand men, and Navarino, Tripolitza, and other important places, were soon either surrendered to them or taken by storm. While this sanguinary struggle was thus carried on, and the southern provinces of Turkey were suffering the disastrous consequences of civil war, a new danger arose from a foreign enemy. In the autumn of 1821, the Persians, influenced, it has been supposed, by Russia, declared war against the Ottoman Empire, and invaded the province of Baghdad with a large army. The Russian ambassador, who was naturally led to interfere, in order, if possible, to prevent the cruelties practised on those Greeks who had taken no part in the civil war of the Morea, demanded his passports, and a war with the Czar seemed inevitable. Early in 1822 an event took place of the utmost importance. The leaders of the revolutionary movement having met together, drew up a proclamation which declared Greece independent, and provided for the government of the new state. By the arrangements thus made, the supreme legislative power was entrusted to a senate to be elected by the people, and a council appointed by the senate was to be invested with the executive functions. Of this council Prince Mavrocadato was nominated president, and Corinth was selected as the seat of government.

Among the events which rendered the campaign of 1822 remarkable, was the death of Ali Pasha of Janina. This man, who was not only one of the greatest heroes, but the most cruel

and remorseless tyrants of modern times, and who well merited the title of the Lion of Janina, was the leader of a large force composed of Albanians, and possessed an army of thirty thousand Muslims, all of whom were devoted to him from admiration of his well-known valour. Although he had assumed and laboured to preserve an apparent dependence upon the Sultan, he was virtually an independent chief, and the great influence he exercised, as well as the position of the territories over which he exercised his authority, rendered him of the highest importance to both parties in the struggle. It was obviously his policy to afford all the aid he possibly could to the insurgents of Greece, whose independence, once achieved, would secure his own. While, therefore, he endeavoured to deceive the Porte with an appearance of neutrality, he was in secret correspondence with the leaders of the movement in Greece. The Sultan, at length discovering his proceedings, resolved upon his destruction, and despatched Chourchid Pasha with an army of forty thousand men to Albania. At the beginning of 1822, the forces of the Sultan had been three years vainly endeavouring to reduce the Albanians to subjection, and Ali Pasha, secure in an impregnable stronghold which he had erected on an island in the lake of Janina, continued to defy the efforts of his foes. Early in that year, however, the blockade which had been instituted had reduced the garrison of the Pasha to the utmost straits, and by means of treachery on the part of some of its defenders, it was at last entered by the troops of Chourchid Pasha. Ali escaped into a tower which was separated from the rest of the fortress by a drawbridge, and with a few resolute followers, determined, before yielding to the enemy, to apply a match to the magazine, and blow himself and his family to pieces. Under these circumstances, Chourchid Pasha, desirous of carrying the head of this fierce warrior to Constantinople, had recourse to artifice, and by an unworthy deception, induced him to capitulate, and perfidiously violating his pledge, put Ali to death, and sent his head to Constantinople, when its arrival occasioned the utmost rejoicing. The death of this extraordinary man was a severe

blow to the Greek cause, for it left the large force hitherto occupied in Albania at the disposal of the Porte. While, therefore, the Sultan made arrangements to meet the Russians with whom war was expected to be declared, by sending an army under the Grand Vizier toward the Danube, and prepared to keep the Persians in check by collecting under the Pasha of Erzeroum an army of thirty thousand men, it was resolved that Chourchid Pasha should enter the Morea with a force of sixty thousand, and that at the same time a fleet should sail for the coast, with supplies for those garrisons which still held out against the Greeks.

Almost immediately after these events, an attack was made on the island of Chios by the troops of the Sultan, which cannot be contemplated without horror, and which awakened for the Greeks the liveliest sympathy throughout Europe. This island, the extreme beauty and fertility of which can hardly be exaggerated by the most poetical description, possessed a population of eighty thousand persons, who had hitherto refrained from taking any part in the insurrection. The oppression, however, under which they were crushed by the Turkish governors drove them to despair; and on the appearance of the Greek fleet, they joined in the struggle of independence. The Sultan immediately resolved to suppress the movement with the utmost severity. An army of thirty thousand Asiatics, whose ferocity rendered them more like demons than human beings, was landed on the devoted island, while a powerful fleet under Kara Ali, the Turkish admiral, appeared upon the coast. It was in vain for the inhabitants to attempt successfully to resist such an overwhelming force. Every city and village became a scene of bloodshed. Every house was pillaged, and its inhabitants, whenever they could be found, were put to the sword, or carried into a captivity worse than death. Ninety churches and forty villages were reduced to ashes; and at the termination of the massacre, twenty-five thousand men had been destroyed, forty thousand women and children had been carried off as slaves, and only fifteen thousand persons escaped from the island, many of whom died of grief and destitution. The spectacle presented by the principal

city after this frightful event, is thus referred to by an eye-witness:—

"The town appeared, from the sea, as bright and flourishing as ever, and they all 'exclaimed against the exaggerated reports of the ruins of Scio.' But a nearer approach dispelled the illusion.

"We now crossed the green, and entered the town. The principal street was called Ἀπαλότρεσα, or the Level. It was long, wide, regular, and formed a fine perspective. The edifices were generally private houses, with ornamented façades, that gave them the air of public buildings. They were built of hewn stone, like those of Valetta, with balconies on projecting buttresses, and sculptured armorial bearings over many of the doors. The interior was ornamented with balustrades of marble, of a rich vein and high polish, the ceilings were curiously carved and gilded, the halls painted in fresco, and hung with pictures; and every thing indicated what we had heard, that the inhabitants had been a rich, cultivated, and polished people. All was now destroyed and defaced. The roofs beaten in, the staircases upturned, the windows and door-cases blackened with smoke. Among the rubbish lay skulls, arms, and half-consumed bodies, amid paper, books, and broken furniture. Everywhere in the streets were what seemed heaps of rags, which we were sometimes obliged to walk through. They were soft, and the pressure of our feet forced out the limbs and ghastly faces of the bodies that were lying weltering under them. The feeling of this was very horrible, and whenever our feet got entangled in such heaps, we hastily extricated them with a shuddering that almost overcame us. We visited the houses of Strati, Rhodochannachi, Dimenti, Rhalle, and others, whose names were well known and respected in most of the commercial towns of Europe. I had seen the bodies of their partners lying in the streets of Constantinople. . . . . After visiting the private houses, we entered the public edifices. Half-way up the street stood the cathedral and the bishop's palace. The bishop had given himself up as a hostage, and, with the rest, was hanged on the battlements of the fortress. In a broken part of the floor, in a room in

the palace, was lying the body of one of his family. Our chouash stood over him, and striking him with the end of his baton, told him to get up, as he had slept long enough; then turning to me, he said, with a coarse laugh, 'He is a lazy fellow—he won't stir.'

"From the palace we proceeded to the college, which stood on the opposite side, higher up the street. This was not a temporary edifice converted into a school, but large regular buildings, with ornamented fronts, forming a regular quadrangle like one of our colleges, containing chapel, theatre, hall, and professors' and students' apartments; it had supported twenty-five professors in the different sciences and languages, and students from all parts of the Levant. The first objects that presented themselves were the bodies of two of the professors lying at the entrance of one of the quadrangles. They were partly covered with the fragments of their gowns, but their hands and legs appeared from under them. We entered one of the lecturers' halls; the floor was covered with torn pieces of books; I brought one of them away with me; it was part of a Homer, having the original text at one side, and on the other a modern Greek commentary and paraphrase, written by the professor, and printed at the college press. Of this college, nothing remains but the scorched walls. The professors were generally and indiscriminately massacred when the Turks burst into it, and the students, the rising hopes of the country, carried off as slaves. They are now scattered over Asia and Europe, in the lowest state of degradation as Christians, and forcibly compelled to undergo the Mohammadan rite."

The environs of the city presented an aspect of equal desolation.—

"We found, on nearer approach, the garden walls torn down, the villas razed and burned, and the bodies of the proprietors lying about unburied. We made our way through enclosures now unfenced, and saw vines, figs, pear, and peach trees, torn about in every direction, while the fruit was hanging on the branches, or lying on the ground, in the greatest profusion, and no one to gather it. In fact, we met nothing

that had life in the country no more than in the city; the very birds seemed to have been scared away by the carnage; we neither saw nor heard them, or any other sound than the dismal yell of a solitary dog, which seemed to be howling over the remains of his master. . . . .

"'The British consul, Signor Giudici, had given shelter to as many of the miserable remnant of the Greek population as could reach the asylum of his house, at the imminent hazard of his own life. Two hundred and seven women and children were crowded together in his garden; and these, together with a few preserved by the other consuls, were all that remained of one hundred thousand souls, perhaps the most cheerful and comfortable little community on the face of the earth. Some of these forlorn women supported their situation with a melancholy cheerfulness, characteristic of the Greek disposition, but others seemed quite unable to bear up against the calamity. Among these were two or three of the most respectable on the island. Their husbands had been massacred, their children made slaves, and they sat solitary and unmoved within their huts, taking no notice of us, and absorbed only in their own deep and dismal reflections. The children, however, all gathered round us, and walked with us everywhere, either holding by our hands or the skirts of our coats, looking up to us with faces full of confidence and pleasure, as if they knew by intuition that we were friends, and interested for them; but while we were distributing a few paras among them, they were seized with a sudden terror, and all disappeared. The cause was soon manifest. The chouash and the Janissary had just entered the garden, and these poor children fled from the sight of a Turk with the same instinctive terror that a kid flies from the sight of a tiger."*

From this time for five years the struggle was maintained by the Greeks with a degree of heroism unsurpassed in any period of history. The events, however, which crowd into the history of that period are numerous enough to fill a large volume.†

* Walsh's Residence at Constantinople, vol. ii., p. 66–77.

† The reader will find an ample account of this memorable war in Sir A. Alison's History of Europe.

In 1826 the British Government resolved to secure to the Greeks that liberty to which their long and arduous struggle so fully entitled them. In accomplishing this measure considerable advantage was obtained by the accession to the throne of Russia of the Emperor Nicholas, his predecessor having all along proved hostile to the cause of Greece. By a protocol, signed on the 4th April by the Duke of Wellington, Count Nesselrode, and Prince Lieven, it was arranged that the King of Great Britain, having received an application from the Greeks, had agreed to interpose, so as to terminate their struggle with Turkey, and that Greece should be one of the dependencies of the Ottoman Empire, governed by native authorities, in the appointment of whom the Ottoman Porte was to be consulted.

It was highly important for the cause of Greek emancipation that the sympathy which the sufferings of the patriots excited had led the great powers of Europe to interfere in their behalf. Ibrahim Pasha, son of the celebrated Mohammad Ali Pasha of Egypt, had landed in the Morea with a force with which it was his resolution utterly to exterminate the Greeks; and without foreign aid this threat must have been carried into execution, and the whole of the Morea would have eventually been involved in the total ruin which had befallen the Island of Chios. The protocol of the preceding year was followed up by a treaty, entered into on the 6th July 1827, between Great Britain, France, and Russia, the results of which was the emancipation of the Greeks from the oppression under which they had so long laboured.

As soon as this celebrated treaty was concluded, the three great powers who were parties to it prepared to carry out its stipulations. It was accordingly intimated to the Sublime Porte, and it was at the same time declared, that if the treaty were not accepted within a month, the three contracting powers would acknowledge the independence of the Greeks. This decisive intimation was received by Sultan Mahmoud with the utmost astonishment and indignation, and the following reply was made to it:—"The Greeks, who form part of the countries conquered ages ago by the Ottoman arms, and who from generation to generation have been tri-

butary subjects of the Sublime Porte, have, like the other nations who, since the origin of Islamism, remained faithfully in submission, always enjoyed perfect repose and tranquillity under the Ægis of our legislation. It is notorious that the Greeks have been treated like Mussulmans in every respect; and as to everything which regards their property, the maintenance of their personal security, and the defence of their honour, that they have been, especially under the glorious reign of the present sovereign, loaded with benefits far exceeding those which their ancestors enjoyed. It is precisely this great degree of favour, this height of comfort and tranquillity, that has been the cause of the revolt, excited by malignant men incapable of appreciating the value of such marks of benevolence. Yielding to the delusions of heated imaginations, they have dared to raise the standard of revolt, not only against their benefactor and legitimate sovereign, but also against all the Mussulman people, by committing the most horrible excesses, sacrificing to their vengeance defenceless women and innocent children with unexampled ferocity. The Sublime Porte being engaged in punishing in its own territory, and in conformity with its sacred law, such of its turbulent subjects as have revolted, can never admit the right of any other power to interfere with it. The Ottoman Government must consider those who address such proposals to it, as intending to give consequence to a troop of brigands. A Greek Government is spoken of, which is to be recognised in case the Sublime Porte does not consent to some arrangement, and it has even been proposed to conclude a treaty with the rebels. Has not the Sublime Porte great reason to be struck with astonishment at hearing such language from friendly powers? for history offers no example of conduct so opposite to the principles and duties of government. The Sublime Porte, therefore, can never listen to such propositions, which it will neither hear nor understand, so long as the country inhabited by Greeks forms part of the Ottoman dominions, and they are tributary subjects of the Porte, which will never renounce its rights. If, with the aid of the Almighty, the Sublime Porte resumes full possession of that country, it will then act, as

well for the present as the future, in conformity with the ordinances which its holy law prescribes with respect to its subjects."

Having issued this manifesto in reply to the demands of the three powers who had become parties to the treaty, the Sultan made the most energetic preparations for the defence which he justly suspected would soon be requisite, as well as for the prosecution of the war in Greece. The various fortresses on the Dardanelles and the Hellespont were furnished with heavy ordnance, the garrisons were strengthened, and the army under Ibrahim, in the Morea, was reinforced by five thousand men, brought from Egypt by a large fleet, which took up its position in the Bay of Navarino, and prepared to assist the Pasha in his military operations on shore, which he received orders from the Sultan to prosecute with redoubled vigour.

Ibrahim was not slow to execute his commission. The reinforcement having been landed, he proceeded to carry out his instructions to the letter. The progress of his troops was indicated by bloodshed and conflagrations. His orders were, that any resistance occurring in a village should be punished by the extermination of the whole inhabitants. The most savage barbarities worthy only of the darkest ages, were everywhere perpetrated. The men were butchered—the women and children subjected to every indignity, or led into captivity. Even the vineyards and gardens were not spared, and what the sword did not destroy was consumed by fire.

The contempt with which the Sultan appeared to treat the representations of the allies, by continuing the devastation they had resolved to check, now rendered it necessary for them to interfere with promptitude. Britain, France, and Russia had each sent a squadron into the Mediterranean, to compel the Sultan to respect their treaty. The admirals of the combined fleet resolved, therefore, to enter the Bay of Navarino, and compel Ibrahim to obey the commands of their respective sovereigns. The consequence of this resolution was the celebrated battle of Navarino, in which the

Ottoman fleet, consisting of more than fifty ships of war, including four line of battle ships, and nineteen frigates, were totally destroyed, together with seven thousand of the Turks. Thus the atrocious massacre of Chios, and the many other cruelties practised by the troops of the Porte on the Greeks, were in some measure avenged.

The destruction of the Ottoman fleet terminated the struggle for independence in Greece. Ibrahim soon evacuated the Morea, by transporting his troops to Alexandria, and after some negotiations with the Porte, with which it was found impossible to come to any terms of accommodation, the ambassadors of the allies quitted Constantinople, and Count Capo d'Istria having been elected President of Greece, entered on the possession of his new authority, and, by a proclamation, declared that the independence of that country was established.

This event, one of the most interesting and important in modern times, was hailed with the utmost satisfaction by all the enlightened nations of Europe, and the anticipations which were formed from the energy and intelligence of the Greeks have not been disappointed. Relieved from the grinding oppression, and the barbarous tyranny and misrule to which it was so long subjected, Greece has exhibited unequivocal proofs of that advancing prosperity to which the natural capabilities of so fine a country must lead when its people enjoy the blessings of civil liberty, and possess suitable encouragement for the exercise of their industry and skill.

CHAPTER XXX.

A. D. 1826—1828.

Projects of military reform by Sultan Mahmoud—The condition of the Janizaries—The new levies—Mahmoud resolves to reduce the Janizaries to obedience or destroy them—Hatti-sheriff for the formation of a new army—Revolt and total destruction of the Janizary force throughout the empire—Effects of this measure—Public indignation Great incendiary fire in Constantinople—The convention of Ackerman—Hostile designs of the Czar—War with Russia—Russian army crosses the Pruth—Summary of the Asiatic and European campaigns of 1828.

DURING the progress of the Greek revolution, Sultan Mahmoud was earnestly engaged in maturing his schemes of military reform. The necessity of such reform was pressed upon his attention by the history of every war in which the Porte had been engaged during his own reign and that of several of his predecessors. It had been clearly demonstrated that although his troops could never be charged with any want of valour or hardihood, they were extremely deficient in complete subordination and thorough subjection to a rigid system of military discipline—qualities without which the highest courage is of comparatively little avail. A condition of things had arisen, the continuance of which was utterly incompatible with the safety of the state. The Janizaries had become much more the terror of the government by which they were supported, than that of their enemies. While Sultan Mahmoud, therefore, was prosecuting with extreme vigour such measures as seemed requisite to terminate revolutionary movements in Greece, he continued to mature his plans, in order to curb and eventually to destroy the power of those fierce troops, whose insubordination, notwith-

standing all his efforts, might at any time overturn his throne. For this purpose a complete reform of the military code of the Janizaries, or their total overthrow and the substitution for them of other troops trained to modern warfare, and accustomed to obey, appeared to the Sultan, as it had already appeared to many of his predecessors, absolutely indispensable. Every attempt hitherto made to convince the Janizaries of the necessity of assimilating their discipline and mode of warfare to the improvements of modern times had been unavailing. With equal obstinacy and blindness they continued to adhere to the ancient systems adopted in the campaigns of the fifteenth century. That they had become more dangerous to the empire than to the forces of their enemies, had been proved on many occasions, and the destruction of Selim III., as well as the peril which had threatened himself, forced upon the Sultan the conviction that some measure must be adopted to terminate a source of civil danger, and to remove an impediment to civil advancement which was thus perpetually causing anxiety, mortification, and defeat. He felt, indeed, that if any new system was to be adopted, it must be preceded by the suppression of the Janizaries. He had already before him the example of Peter the Great in his destruction of the Strelitzes, who were the Janizaries of Russia. But the enterprise on his part was infinitely more difficult and dangerous. The Strelitzes were comparatively few in number; they were isolated from the people. They were neither rendered illustrious by victories, sacred by superstition, or venerable by antiquity; while, at the same time, Peter the Great was aided by a powerful party, all in favour of his design. On the other hand, Mahmoud was not supported in his scheme by any powerful party, while the Janizaries possessed very strong family interests. Their order was associated with brilliant recollections, and they were the admiration of almost every class in every portion of the empire. Notwithstanding these considerations, the Sultan resolved to adopt the strongest measures whenever the opportunity should be afforded him, and that opportunity was not long wanting.

To accomplish his scheme it was requisite to possess a force which might enable him, if necessary, to crush the Janizaries at a blow, whenever such a step might become imperative; and to obtain for his measures the sanction of the 'Ulama as well as the support of the principal military functionaries of the state. Mahmoud therefore had spared no efforts to accomplish these ends, and had succeeded in raising a large force, consisting, besides other troops, of fourteen thousand topgees or artillerymen, all of whom were the rivals of the ancient corps, and whose fidelity had been secured by every available means. The Sultan, too, had in a great measure succeeded in gaining for his projects of reform the approbation of the 'Ulama and the Muftee, and what was of high importance, the confidence of the Grand Vizier, the Capitan Pasha or admiral, and even that of the Aga, the commander-in-chief of the Janizaries themselves. He had also contrived to thin the ranks of those fierce and turbulent troops, by placing them in situations of difficulty, in which, during the recent wars, numbers of them had perished. During the progress of the Greek war, several regiments of Janizaries had been from time to time drafted from the main body for service in that province. These detachments were placed on board the Ottoman vessels of war, landed at different points in the scene of the conflict, and left unsupported. None of these detachments had ever returned to Constantinople, being completely destroyed by the insurgents, and thus their number in the capital was materially diminished. In May 1826 the Sultan issued a hatti-sheriff for the formation of a new army. Hitherto the Janizaries had been without the slightest suspicion of the intention of their sovereign; but the veil now fell from their eyes. They perceived that the scheme which had cost Selim his throne was about to be revived. They now began to understand why their companions had never returned from Greece, and they perceived that the time was come to make a stand for their privileges, if not even their existence. In less than a fortnight after the proclamation of the new army, the whole of the Janizaries were in open revolt. But the Sultan, had foreseen the

danger of such a crisis, and had prepared for it. The Aga of the Janizaries, without being suspected by those under his command, had espoused the cause of the Sultan, all the garrisons of the Bosphorus were on his side, as well as the artillery, and a very considerable force which he had gradually and quietly matured.

The insurrection broke out with the utmost fury on the 14th of June, after a grand review of the army had been held, and speedily assumed that desperate character which proved that a decisive crisis had at length arrived. Without attempting to conceal their purpose, the Janizaries gave the signal for revolt, and demanded the execution of the Sultan's advisers, and the instant revocation of the offensive edict. The Aga now thought it expedient to throw off the mask he had hitherto worn, and addressing the Janizaries, stigmatised them as rebels and infidels, and called on them to submit to the Sultan's authority. The discovery that their leader favoured the new project of the Sultan, excited the already exasperated soldiery to the highest pitch of fury. They issued from their barracks fully armed, attacked the palace of the Vizier, the admiral of the fleet, and their own commander the Aga, destroying everything within their reach, and burning several of the buildings to the ground; and the officers who had thus become the objects of their hatred, only escaped instant death by a precipitate flight. The Aga at once proceeded to the Sultan, and obtained his sanction to an immediate suppression of a revolt which threatened not only the speedy destruction of the city, but his own life.

By the Sultan's order, the famous standard of the Prophet, the Sanjak-Sheriff, was brought forth with the usual solemn ceremonial; and a proclamation was issued, commanding all faithful Muslims to rally around it, and at the same time denouncing the Janizaries as the enemies of religion and the state. This proceeding was successful. A large number of the citizens, completely armed, assembled, and at the same time a large force was speedily gathered from the barracks in the neighbourhood of the city, and a park of artillery conveyed from the arsenal at Topkhara. The Janizaries had by this

time taken up their position in the Atmeidan, a large square in Constantinople, resolved to defend themselves, and, little anticipating the real purpose of the Sultan, they expected to obtain by menaces and violence the success their ancestors had often achieved by the same means. The revolters were now summoned to lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance; but such was their rage, that they put to death the officers who had been sent with the Sultan's message. The decisive moment, therefore, was arrived. The fetva of the Muftee was proclaimed, authorising the Sultan to punish the rebels, and a most terrific scene ensued. A battery which had been formed commanding the Atmeidan, opened fire upon the devoted troops, who were mowed down by incessant discharges of grape-shot and small-arms. A vast number, after resolutely but vainly endeavouring to defend themselves, retired to the barracks, which was immediately set on fire by means of shells thrown into the building, while the gates, by which alone the miserable occupants could escape, were assailed by incessant discharges of grape-shot. The barracks were soon enveloped in flames, and all who were not otherwise destroyed, perished in the conflagration. No quarter was given by the Sultan. Several colonels succeeded in making their way from the scene of destruction, and implored mercy on their knees. They were instantly decapitated. Offers of submission, too, were made by the revolters in their desperation, but these were disregarded, and the work of extermination proceeded till not one of the Janizaries remained. This terrible slaughter was followed up by measures equally decisive. For three months afterwards the Janizaries were everywhere seized and put to death; till in various parts of the empire, upwards of forty thousand of these troops were thus annihilated, and an equal number driven into exile. These measures were followed up by a public decree from the highest authority, which declared the very name of the Janizaries to be infamous; their barracks were demolished; their standards were destroyed, and their duties transferred to the new troops, of whom Hussein, the Aga, was appointed commander, and the Sultan and his court assumed the military costume of

the Egyptians, while the new levies exhibited a dress from which all resemblance to that of the Janizaries was carefully excluded.

This extraordinary event, which clearly indicated the unquestionable vigour of the Sultan's administration, filled all Europe with astonishment. Although the Janizaries had beyond doubt been the chief support of the Empire in the earlier ages of its existence, and had been distinguished by many very brilliant acts, yet it could not be denied that eventually they had raised an insurmountable barrier against all progress. They had become a mere mob of ferocious ruffians, whose ignorance was only equalled by their obstinate bigotry and blind reverence for obsolete customs. They were, in a word, not only possessed of great power from the very prestige of their order to work evil, but at the same time really incapacitated to produce real and permanent benefit. "They ruled," says an intelligent writer, "with uncontrolled insolence in Constantinople, their appearance betraying the excess of libertinism, their foul language, their gross behaviour, their enormous turbans, their open vests, their bulky sashes filled with arms, their weighty sticks, rendering them objects of fear and of disgust. Like moving columns, they thrust every one from their paths, without regard of sex or age, frequently bestowing durable marks of anger or contempt; and during the Bairam, the report of pistols, let off in sport or in intoxication, followed often by a shriek, everywhere denoted their presence. No man who was not one of them, no property that was not theirs, was safe; and, habituated to lawless excess, they knew no crime but what aimed at their privileges. Deposed Sultans and a long list of headless Viziers attest this truth. It may be truly said that there was scarcely a person of consideration in the empire who was not glad of their downfall."*

But although most persons of rank and intelligence were found to admit the expediency of a measure so extreme, the utter extinction of the Janizaries could not fail deeply to impress the public generally with a sense of the cruelty of the

* Slade's Journal.

Sultan, and the ingratitude towards those troops to whom in remote times the empire owed so much of its glory. The public feeling was strikingly evinced on more than one occasion; and in particular by a dreadful conflagration which was the work of incendiaries, by which several thousands of houses were destroyed, and a loss entailed upon Constantinople of nearly six millions sterling. Mahmoud, however, with a degree of decision which, under the very difficult circumstances in which he was placed, did him the highest honour, proceeded in those plans of reform which he justly believed essential to the stability of the empire, and succeeded in effecting very considerable improvements, not only in the military, but in the civil affairs of his country.

It was not to be expected that an event so remarkable as the destruction of the Janizaries would fail to be taken advantage of by the court of St. Petersburg. The Emperor Nicholas had brought with him to the Russian throne a thorough determination to carry out that aggressive policy of the Empress Catherine, of which the terms of the celebrated treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji afforded so striking an illustration, and the annihilation of the Ottoman army, as well as the distracted condition of many of the provinces of that empire, afforded an opportunity too tempting to be neglected. The Czar, therefore, demanded that the Sultan should conclude with him a treaty, the provisions of which were made the subject of discussion at Ackerman, a town in Bessarabia; and Mahmoud, pressed by the necessity of his condition, arising not only from the destruction of his army, but from the state of Greece, and the declaration of the British and French ambassadors as to the intention of their respective courts to take up the cause of the insurgents, had found it requisite to conclude the arrangement, and the celebrated convention of Ackerman was ratified in October 1826.

This treaty proved of great importance to Russia. In addition to other provisions, it recognised the whole stipulations of the two treaties of Bucharest and Kainardji, by which Russia claimed the right to interpose in behalf of the members of the Greek church in the Ottoman dominions; arranged that the

boundaries of the Turkish Empire should remain as at the time of the conclusion of the convention; stipulated for certain important privileges to the people of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Servia, and made arrangements for the appointment of the Hospodars. During the year which succeeded the ratification of the convention of Ackerman, Russia was occupied with the Persian war, which was prosecuted with great vigour by General Paskewitch, by whom very considerable advantages were obtained; and in November 1827 the treaty of Tourkmantchai was concluded between Russia and Persia, and the former power gained possession of the provinces of Erivan and Nakhitchevan, and a military frontier which bounded the whole of the north of Persia.

This treaty was concluded a very short time subsequently to the destruction of the Ottoman fleet in the Bay of Navarino, as already related, and the appointment of Count Capo d'Istria, the aide-de-camp of the Emperor Nicholas, as President of Greece, it left the Emperor therefore at leisure to carry out those hostile intentions which his ready interference in the affairs of Greece, and a variety of other considerations, clearly proved him to entertain. The approaching war was indicated by the mutual recriminations of the hostile powers. Russia accused the Porte of an endeavour to cause a revolution in the Caucasus, and of a violation of treaties by closing the Bosphorus against Russian ships, and by its conduct towards its Christian subjects. There was no inconsiderable foundation for such a complaint, and especially for the latter part of it. The proceedings of the Porte towards the Christians in Constantinople, and other portions of the empire far distant from the theatre of the Greek insurrection, has already been referred to; but other severe measures had also been adopted.

In the city of Constantinople existed a large community of Christians belonging to the Armenian Church. They were under the ecclesiastical government of an archbishop, who resided among them, and possessed the honorary title of Patriarch. This community, although not recognized like the Greek Church by a charter, enjoyed the same religious toleration. About the middle of last century, a number of

those Armenian Christians united themselves with the Latin Church, although the Porte never formally acknowledged their union with Rome, nor even permitted them to have churches in Constantinople, but regarded them as still a portion of the orthodox Armenian communion. A great degree of dissension took place between the two bodies thus separated from each other. The Ottoman Porte seized the opportunity afforded by those disputes, of charging the Armenians and their archbishop with conspiracy against the state, adducing as a proof, that the Patriarch of Etzchmiazen, the head of the Armenian Church, was a Russian vassal, a circumstance which by no means warranted the inference deduced from it. To refute this unjust charge, the Armenian archbishop adopted the persuasive argument of a heavy pecuniary donation to the Sultan, at the same time accusing the Armenians who adhered to the papal church, and refusing to answer for their loyalty as he did for those of his own communion. This was sufficient for the Sultan. A firman was immediately issued commanding the Catholic Armenians to quit Constantinople and proceed to Angora, to which they chiefly belonged, in the space of ten days. This cruel sentence was issued on the tenth of January—a period of the year in which the unhappy and, it may be added, innocent exiles must be exposed to dreadful sufferings on their journey. By the earnest intercession of the Austrian authorities, exceptions were made in favour of those who would renounce the Latin Church for the Armenian, and of those who were blind, or above seventy years of age, or who were *enciente* beyond seven months. In vain did the victims of this tyrannical measure beg permission to remain till the weather should be favourable for travelling. By the 20th of January, twenty thousand persons of all ranks were expelled from the city, and driven to travel, exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, over a country covered with snow. It is impossible to describe the sufferings of these wretched exiles. Many of them, persons who had enjoyed all the conveniences of wealth, died even during the first few days of their sorrowful and disastrous journey, and all were exposed to the most cruel and unavoidable hardship. The

vast wealth which many of them possessed was seized for the use of the state.

These cruel proceedings, it must be confessed, gave sufficient colour to the accusations preferred by Russia against the Ottoman Porte. On the other hand, the Porte replied by justly charging the Czar with having secretly encouraged the insurgents in Greece, and having openly destroyed the Sultan's fleet at Navarino, and violated the treaties of Bucharest and Ackerman by fomenting the discontent prevailing in the Turkish provinces. Both sides immediately prepared for the struggle, which a variety of circumstances have proved that the Czar had long contemplated, and only waited for a suitable opportunity of entering upon.

Hostilities commenced in April 1828, when a review took place at St. Petersburg of the troops intended for the Turkish war, and which amounted to nearly a hundred and sixty thousand men. General Diebitch was appointed adjutant-general of the army on the Danube; and in the month of May the force began to assemble on the banks of the Pruth, and crossed that river at three different points. Being unopposed by the Ottomans, the Russian forces almost immediately entered Jassy and Bucharest, took possession of Galatz, and in a few weeks had occupied the whole of the left bank of the Danube.

To accomplish as rapidly as possible the objects of the campaign, as well as to avoid having their very widely extended line exposed to the enemy, it was resolved by the leaders of the Russian forces to cross the Danube at Brahilow, and thence to advance with rapidity upon Silistria, Varna, and Schumla. This resolution they immediately proceeded to carry into effect. The fortress of Brahilow is in the province of Wallachia, and consequently on the left side of the Danube. It is situated opposite the northern extremity of the district of Bulgaria, called the Dobrudja. To reduce the fortress of Brahilow, and to cross the river at that point, opposed by the fortress of Isaktchi, constituted the first object of the invading army; and the Emperor Nicholas was himself present to inspect the operations, as well as to encourage his troops. On

the 11th of May the fortress was invested by one division of the Russian forces, while another crossed the Danube successfully, notwithstanding the opposition of the Turkish battery, and a force of eight thousand men. Isaktchi immediately surrendered, and the Russian army advanced toward the southern boundary of Dobrudja, which is formed by the wall of Trajan, at the eastern extremity of which, on the coast of the Black Sea, they invested the fortress of Kustendji, which soon capitulated. While these successes were obtained, the siege of Brahilow proceeded; and after a siege of more than a month, and a series of most sanguinary assaults, in which the besiegers suffered an immense loss, the garrison capitulated, and marched out with all the honours of war. In this important stronghold the Russians became possessed of valuable stores, among which were two hundred and seventy pieces of ordnance, a large supply of ammunition, and an immense quantity of provisions. As soon as Brahilow surrendered, the besieging force crossed the Danube, and all the fortresses of the Dobrudja immediately surrendered to them.

Meantime the Sultan had not been negligent in making preparation for the impending contest. In the month of May a force had been collected of fifty thousand infantry, fifteen thousand Spahees or feudatory horsemen, twenty thousand gunners, and several squadrons of cavalry; and most of these troops were in a highly efficient condition, as regarded skill and equipment. The fortresses on the Danube had been armed and provisioned, as well as supplied with suitable garrisons. The defences of Schumla were strengthened, and a garrison thrown into the place of thirty thousand men. A large and effective force, too, and one particularly suited to the defence of fortifications, was collected by calling out the inhabitants of the provinces of Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Roumelia; and thus the garrison at Schumla, might, if requisite, be raised to a hundred thousand men, and an army of reserve was likewise collected at Hadrianople.

The Russians having advanced from the Dobrudja, engaged some divisions of the Ottoman troops, who fought with extraordinary fury, and exhibited a degree of subordination and

discipline which contrasted most favourably with the gallant but tumultuous fight which the Janizary force had been wont to maintain, and to which almost all their military disasters may be attributed. About the middle of July, the Russian force under General Rudiger on the right, and Generals Woinoff and Diebitch on the left wing, accompanied by the Emperor Nicholas, moved toward Schumla; and the Ottoman army, whose instructions were to avoid general actions, and to throw their whole energy upon the defence of their fortifications, having engaged in battle with the enemy, retired within the entrenched camp surrounding that fortress, which now contained a force of forty thousand men.

The view which greeted the Emperor Nicholas on the memorable occasion of his approach to Schumla was, from a variety of circumstances, in a high degree interesting. The range of the Balkans—the celebrated Mount Hæmus of antiquity—consisting of mountains of various degrees of abruptness and various outline, had gradually become more distinct as he advanced; and as he drew near, their slopes at that season of the year exhibited the most beautiful variety of tints, in which a rich purple and dark green seemed predominant. On the right hand arose the heights of Strandscha, covered with trees, and on the left were those of Tschengel, while between them, and occupying a slope protected on both sides by those eminences, lay the famous fortress guarding the passages of the Balkans, and with its numerous graceful minarets, offering not only a highly picturesque view, but a most desirable place of rest for a weary soldier, after a long and toilsome march.

The Emperor, however, while he beheld the scene, became aware of the immense preparations which the Ottomans had made to defend this most important position, and had sufficient experience of the indomitable courage with which the Turkish soldiers were accustomed to defend their fortifications. He resolved, therefore, to leave a corps of observation of thirty thousand men before Schumla, under General Wittgenstein, and to direct the principal efforts of his army, in the first instance, to the reduction of Varna. The Emperor, therefore,

having made the requisite arrangements, set forth in the beginning of August to Varna with a strong escort, and after ascertaining the progress of the siege, which had been for some time begun, he embarked in one of the ships of the fleet, which lay at anchor in the bay, and proceeded to Odessa. Prior, as well as subsequently to the departure of the Emperor from Schumla, some brilliant exploits were performed by the garrison, exhibiting at once the courage and enterprising spirit of the Ottoman soldiers, as well as the very considerable improvement which had taken place in their discipline. Issuing unexpectedly upon their enemies, they inflicted upon them several severe losses, and, at the same time, the superiority of their cavalry enabled them to prevent those of the Russians from obtaining forage, and thus contributed to reduce them to great straits. These circumstances, together with the scarcity of provisions, the prevalence of sickness, and the advance of the season, rendered it obvious to the Russian General that it would be impossible much longer to maintain his position before Schumla.

Meantime, the siege of Varna was prosecuted with vigour, the possession of that fortress being scarcely second in importance to that of Schumla to an invading army. This celebrated place is situated towards the northern side of the Bay of Varna, which, from its northern to its southern promontories, extends about two English miles and a half in breadth. The River Devna, which flows from a lake of the same name, washes the south extremity of the town; on the land side of the fortress are the waters of the lake, and numerous vineyards and orchards. The back-ground of the picture is formed by the heights of the Balkan. The circumference of the town is about three miles, and at the period of the siege it contained nearly five thousand houses, and a population of about twenty-five thousand, in addition to the garrison.

On the 5th of September, after having been absent at Odessa for about a month, during which he was engaged making arrangements for obtaining levies from Russia, and in negociating loans in Holland, the Emperor Nicholas arrived at

Varna, to inspect the progress, and encourage the operations of the besiegers. Much space would be requisite in order to detail the various operations of this siege, to explain the modes of attack adopted by the Russians, and to describe the gallantry of the defence on the part of the garrison. The besieging force, towards the end of August, amounted to forty thousand men, which, on the arrival of the Emperor, were reinforced by more than twenty thousand, with a great addition to the artillery already possessed by the invading army. This large force was further supported by the Russian fleet of sixteen ships of war, under Admiral Greig, a Scotchman, who, with great skill, kept up a close blockade of the fortress by sea, and destroyed a flotilla of Turkish gun-boats intended for its support. The garrison, however, consisted of ten thousand men well armed, and possessing a large supply of artillery. The details of the siege exhibit a series of assaults repulsed with the utmost valour and spirit by the besieged, and entailing an immense loss upon the Russians, both in men and superior officers; but the circumstance that the reinforcement sent to relieve the garrison could not approach, so closely was the place invested, and the destruction of a part of the walls by the cannon of the Russians, led to a surrender, and Jussouf Pasha delivered up the fortress to the Emperor on the 10th of October, after a siege of more than two months.*

The utmost efforts were made to reduce Silistria, after Varna had been surrendered, but the advance of the season, and the difficulties of the attempt, as well as the disastrous circumstances of the Russian army before Schumla, soon proved that nothing more could be attempted till the following spring.

* Jussouf Pasha has been charged with treachery in delivering up the fortress, and there is some reason for considering the charge to be just. He was only second in command of the place, and the Capitan Pasha was so indignant at the surrender, which was unconditional, that he threw himself into the citadel with three hundred resolute companions, and declared that he would blow it up rather than submit to become a prisoner of war. The Emperor admiring his courage, permitted him and his comrades to march out of the fortress and join the Ottoman army, who had come with reinforcements, but which, as already stated, had been unable to succour the garrison. Jussouf Pasha afterwards received a large grant of land in the Crimea.

The campaign, therefore, was brought to a conclusion, and orders were issued for the Russians to retire beyond the Danube, and take up their winter quarters in Wallachia. The fall of Brahilow and Varna were the only important events of the campaign of 1828 in Europe, and even these successes had been attained at a vast expense of human life. Out of nearly a hundred and sixty thousand men who had crossed the Danube at the beginning of the campaign, only about one-half remained. Notwithstanding, therefore, these triumphs, the campaign was a disastrous one for the Russians. More than thirty thousand horses died in the retreat into Wallachia, and probably at least a hundred thousand soldiers, and others attached to the Russian army, had perished either by disease, or in battle with the Ottomans.*

It were impossible to describe the sufferings of the Wallachians during the succeeding winter. The "protection" of the autocrat inflicted upon them the most deplorable calamities. Their harvests had been destroyed, and the corn carried off had not been paid for, and at the approach of winter the carts of the unfortunate country people were seized upon to convey military stores; and where horses could not be found to harness to them, men and even women, under the lash of ruffians employed for the purpose, were made to draw them. No forage could be obtained for the horses of the heavy artillery; the nearest magazines were frequently sixty miles distant; and as there were no means of transport, men and women were laden with such weights as they could bear, and driven to the cantonments over many a weary league, during the rigour of the season. One-half of the hundreds of unfortunates thus treated died from suffering and exhaustion. Such was the protection which the Emperor Nicholas, in his marvellous solicitude for the welfare of the province of Wallachia, gave to its miserable inhabitants, calling, at the same time, with equal impiety and hypocrisy, on the Divine Being to support his cause.

* The reader is referred for a particular account of the siege of Varna, to the excellent work of Colonel Chesney on the Russian campaign of 1828.

Such were the leading events of the European campaign. In Asia operations were carried on by the Russians with equal vigour and much more success, in consequence, in a great measure, of the military genius and experience of General Paskewitch, who commanded the troops on the east of the Black Sea. The conclusion of the treaty of Tourkmantchai with Persia in the month of February had placed in the possession of Russia territories which were of the utmost importance in carrying on the operations of the campaign. The force of General Paskewitch was extremely small compared with that which was employed on the Danube. It consisted of about twenty-one thousand infantry and five thousand five hundred cavalry, and even of this force only one-half were actively employed during the campaign—the other half being occupied in subordinate although necessary movements.

The first attack of the Russians in Asia was made upon the fortress of Anapa. Admiral Greig sailed from Sebastopol with a fleet of eight line of battle ships, five frigates, and eleven smaller vessels, and, about the middle of May, landed six thousand men at that fortress, while Colonel Perowski appeared before it with part of the army of the Caucasus. After a siege of about a month, the place was taken, with eighty-five guns and three thousand prisoners, and the fleet sailed immediately to Varna, where, as already seen, it was of material value in the operations for the reduction of that fortress.

The army of General Paskewitch was at this time at Goomri or Alexandropol in Georgia, and his first movement was upon the city and fortress of Kars, which lay directly in his route to Erzeroum. Paskewitch, the rapidity of whose movements was of the highest moment in conducing to his success, speedily invested the city, and, after a most sanguinary conflict maintained for a week, the garrison capitulated. Thus in an extremely brief period, one of the strongest and most formidable fortresses in Asia fell into the hands of the Czar, with a large store of ammunition, a number of cannon, and seven thousand prisoners.

After some other successes, General Paskewitch resolved upon attacking the town and fortress of Akhalzikh, a very important place in the pashalik of that name, and which was not only strongly fortified by nature and art, but had for its chief strength a resolute garrison of ten thousand Ottomans, besides the armed inhabitants of the place. The Sultan's troops defended this important fortress with the most undaunted resolution. The Russian general intended to surprise the place, and marched with great rapidity during night to the attack. But the difficulties of the passage thither caused so much delay, that the Ottoman army, which was encamped around the town, descried the advancing columns of the enemy before they had arrived at the walls. Perceiving the comparatively small number of his assailants, the Ottoman commander ordered an immediate attack, and a large detachment poured down from the heights upon their advancing columns. A most desperate conflict ensued, in which the hostile troops fought hand to hand till some Russian detachments coming up, enabled Paskewitch to drive back the Turkish cavalry. The combat continued with unabated fury till noon, when the belligerents, overcome by the heat of the day and exhausted by fatigue, spontaneously ceased their conflict, and sought repose by casting themselves on the ground within a short distance of each other, and among the heaps of the dying and the dead by whom they were surrounded. At two o'clock, after the Russians had taken some refreshment, the conflict was renewed amid terrific peals of thunder and flashes of lightning, which added indescribably to the horror of the scene. The hardihood and discipline of the Russians at last prevailed over the fiery valour of the Ottoman soldiers. The entrenched camp by which Akhalzikh was protected was taken with great loss to the Turks. The Russians now prosecuted the business of the siege without interruption from any external force. A breach was effected in the walls by an incessant cannonade, and immediate preparations were made for the assault, which is not exceeded by any on record for the fierce nature of the attack or the determined heroism of the defence. The assault was led by

Colonel Borodino, who exhibited the most heroic intrepidity. The devoted band selected for the purpose had received the holy sacrament with great solemnity, and now advanced to the music of their band, and with colours flying, to the attack. It was the hour which the Muslims take rest, and the outer works being almost undefended, were speedily in the hands of the Russians; but a few minutes were sufficient to bring around them a swarm of the inhabitants as well as the Turkish garrison. Such was the exasperation of the Turks, that multitudes of women joined in the fight, and with their drawn swords were seen dealing destruction upon their foes in the front of the battle. Borodino had contrived to bring some cannon over the breach, and this aided his men in keeping their ground, notwithstanding the number of their adversaries. Everywhere the Muslims defended themselves with unsurpassed valour and determination. Every available point was occupied from which to fire upon their invaders. General Paskewitch, finding he could not otherwise dislodge them, ordered the houses to be set on fire, and hand-grenades thrown into the windows of the houses, and various combustibles applied to those already gained, speedily set the whole city on fire. Several hundreds of the Ottomans perished in one of the burning mosques, and a church in which a magazine of gunpowder had been placed, and which was crowded by the besieged, blew up with a frightful explosion, scattering the mangled bodies of its recent occupants and its own materials in every direction. The battle continued the whole night, and during darkness it was carried on by the light of the conflagration. At length this fearful conflict was concluded by capitulation, but not till the city, a few hours before so flourishing, was a mass of smoking ruins, and a great number of its defenders had been destroyed, and many of its surviving inhabitants reduced to the utmost destitution and misery.

The surrender of Akhalzikh was followed by that of other important places of strength, which closed the campaign of 1828 in Asia, and gave the invading army the utmost ad-

vantages for carrying out their purposes on the renewal of hostilities in the following year.

Thus both in Europe and in Asia, notwithstanding the determined valour of his troops, the Sultan Mahmoud had abundant reason to be disappointed, and it may be well supposed that he must have looked forward with deep anxiety to the subsequent proceedings of a campaign, during which his enemy the Czar seemed to threaten to approach Constantinople both by the western and southern shores of the Black Sea.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A.D. 1828—1839.

Summary of the Campaign of 1828-29, continued—Preparations of the Porte and of Russia—Capture of a Turkish flotilla—Reduction of Sizepolis—The Grand Vizier marches to Pravadi—Fatal battle of Koulevscha—Silistria taken—The Russians advance to Hadrianople Campaign in Asia—Vain attempt to recover Akhalzikh—Fall of Erzeroum—Treaty of Hadrianople—Its stipulations—The Pasha of Egypt—His designs—The Sultan solicits aid from Russia—Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi—Insurrection in the provinces—Commercial and other reforms—Renewal of hostilities by Mehemet Ali—Defeat of the Ottoman army at Nezib—Death of Mahmoud II.

THE campaign of 1828 had rendered the most active preparations requisite on the part of both belligerents for the commencement of hostilities in the following spring. The Ottoman soldiers, according to their usual custom, hastened from the garrisons to pass the winter in their homes, but the utmost efforts were made by the Porte to gather an adequate force to meet the exigencies of the struggle so soon to be renewed. Although only ten thousand men were left in Schumla during the winter, forty thousand assembled in that fortress early in spring. They were, however, for the most part new levies, who had not seen any military service. Orders were transmitted to the pashas of Scutari and Janina, Hadrianople and Widdin, to hasten with all the troops they could command to the scene of action. These orders were, however, either neglected or very imperfectly obeyed, and this circumstance exerted an important influence on the results of

the war. The Russians, on the other hand, were no less energetic in their arrangements. A large portion of the fine army which in the preceding year had entered Bulgaria had disappeared, and a much larger force than that which remained was requisite to any decisive measures against an adversary so strongly situated as the Ottoman force at Schumla. By an addition of about seventy thousand, the Russian army was raised to an efficient force of about one hundred and fifty thousand men. General Wittgenstein having been allowed to retire from active service, was replaced by Count Diebitch, an officer of very high military attainments, who by his conduct of the campaign thoroughly justified the discrimination of the Emperor in his appointment.

So early in the year as the month of January, hostilities were commenced on the part of the Russians, who succeeded in carrying two entrenched posts on the left side of the Danube between Rutzchuk and Widdin. A flotilla, consisting of thirty gun-boats, was immediately afterwards captured on the Danube near Nicopolis, which gave the Russians the complete command of that part of the river. Some vessels of war, moreover, succeeded in taking the fortress of Sizepolis, situated a little to the south of the bay of Bourges, at the eastern termination, and within the line of the Balkan. It was impossible, however, before the month of May, from the condition of the Danube, to commence the campaign with the whole force, but by the tenth of that month the passage of the river was completed at Hirchova and Kalavatsch, below Silistria, the siege of which was immediately begun, while General Kouprianoff was stationed with a force at Pravadi, a fortress on the east of Schumla, and which, lying in the line of communication between Silistria and Varna, was important to the Russians as the means of keeping open a communication between the army of General Roth near Varna and the troops destined to act upon Silistria.

Redschid Pasha, who on being recalled from Greece had been appointed Grand Vizier, had arrived at Schumla on the 21st of March, and on perceiving the position of the invading army, formed the well-conceived design of attacking

Pravadi and the force under General Roth, and thus preparing the way both to retake Varna and to relieve Silistria. Had this plan been as brilliantly executed as it was ably conceived, it would have decided the campaign in favour of the Sultan's troops. Resolved to carry out this important manœuvre, the Grand Vizier marched from Schumla at the head of thirty-six thousand men, leaving only a small garrison behind him under Ibrahim Pasha, and advanced rapidly on Pravadi.

This movement of the Vizier became immediately known to General Roth, who by means of a courier conveyed information of it to Count Diebitch. That General was too acute not to perceive the purpose of his adversary, and too enterprising not to endeavour immediately to take advantage of it. The Count therefore adopted a movement of the highest importance, and which, indeed, had the effect of deciding the campaign. Instead of marching to attack Redschid Pasha at Pravadi, he resolved to intercept his communication with the fortress he had quitted, and thus compel the Ottoman general either to come to a general engagement, which could hardly fail to result to the advantage of the Russians, or to fight his way towards Schumla through the Russian army, or leave the fortress of Schumla to its fate, which, feebly garrisoned as it was, could not be long delayed. This skilful manœuvre was no sooner resolved upon than it was carried into execution, and Count Diebitch having left one of his generals to continue the siege of Silistria, hastened southwards with twenty thousand men, having ordered General Roth to co-operate with him in intercepting the return of the Ottoman troops to their fortress. While the Russian force were rapidly advancing towards Koulevscha, a village between Pravadi and Schumla, and scarcely three miles from the latter, the Grand Vizier remained wholly ignorant of the fact that Diebitch had quitted Silistria, and persisted in the belief that the only opponents of his retreat to Schumla were Generals Roth and Rudiger. On returning from Pravadi to Schumla, it was requisite for the army of the Grand Vizier to pass over ground broken by deep ravines, and to wind

round the hills which lie between the two places. And Count Diebitch, before the forces of the Grand Vizier, who had been delayed on the route by a skirmish with the enemy, could make their appearance, found himself on the 11th June posted so advantageously among the hills of Koulevscha, as to permit only a small force to appear in the valley through which his adversary was to pass. Nothing could be more perilous than the position into which the Vizier was thus drawn. The unavoidable delay which had occurred had thus enabled Count Diebitch to interpose between Schumla and the Ottoman army, and as the latter force drew near the fortress, the Vizier still remained unaware that his advance toward Schumla was threatened by the Russian commander-in-chief himself, with a force of thirty-six thousand men and a hundred pieces of cannon. Supposing that his retreat was theatened only by a small detachment, the Vizier calculated on an easy victory, and resolved without hesitation to force his passage. The mistake was fatal. The Ottoman cavalry attacked the infantry of the Russians, who were overwhelmed by their charge; and Diebitch, having waited in expectation that the Vizier would descend from the eminence on which he was posted to complete his supposed victory, and finding that he did not make this movement, broke from his concealment among the hills, and suddenly attacked the Ottoman troops with his whole force. The effect was instantaneous. A universal panic seized the Vizier's forces, his cavalry and infantry fled in confusion, every attempt to bring them to a stand proved abortive, and he himself escaped with difficulty. The artillery and baggage all fell into the hands of the enemy. The loss of life in the battle of Koulevscha was by no means great. The Ottoman force lost only about six thousand five hundred in killed, wounded, and prisoners. But the moral influence which such a defeat exercised was infinitely disastrous. Count Diebitch, notwithstanding the decisive nature of the battle of Koulevscha, seemed to be either not fully aware of the extent of the calamity which he had caused his adversary, or not possessed of sufficient skill in military tactics; for instead of attacking Schumla with his whole force,

and making himself, as it is highly probable he could easily have done, master of that important fortress, he contented himself with some minor operations, and thus afforded time to the vanquished army to recover in some measure from the shock it had received, and the Grand Vizier himself to enter Schumla by a circuitous route with six thousand horse, and the remnant of the infantry to follow him by making their way through the mountains beyond the reach of their enemies. The muster at Schumla on the return of the Vizier and his remaining troops exhibited the magnitude of their loss. Out of a fine army of forty thousand men, who a few days before had marched from the fortress full of confidence, only twelve thousand foot and about six thousand cavalry remained.

After the fatal battle of Koulevscha, the siege of Silistria was carried on with redoubled vigour, and on the 30th of June the fortress surrendered, when the whole garrison were made prisoners of war, and to the number of eight thousand, and the Russians found on the ramparts two hundred and thirty-eight cannon, in addition to those on board the vessels in the harbour. The fall of Silistria now determined the Russian commander-in-chief to push across the Balkans. This decisive movement the Grand Vizier did not suspect. He believed that as Schumla was a fortress of high importance, the Russians would endeavour to reduce it before any attempt to cross the mountains. This error on the part of the Vizier was the more remarkable, from the fact of his being fully aware that the possession of Varna, Pravadi, and Sizepolis laid open to the enemy the eastern passes of the Balkans. Count Diebitch took care not to undeceive the Ottoman General. He apparently made arrangements for a regular siege. Detachment after detachment arrived before Schumla, but during night still larger bodies of his troops marched silently to the left to reinforce the divisions under Generals Roth and Rudiger, who had already entered the valley which led to Aidos on the southern declivity of the mountains.

Without entering further into detail, it is only requisite

to observe, that after defeating with great facility such troops as opposed their advance, the Russian army pressed on with the utmost activity towards Hadrianople, and entered the city not only unopposed, but amidst the rejoicings of a multitude of the Greek population, who looked upon the Russians as their deliverers. The terror which this extraordinary event inspired at Constantinople may easily be imagined to have been extreme. The very heart of the empire had been assailed by the victorious invaders in Europe, while the tidings from the Asiatic provinces of the defeats sustained by the Sultan's forces opposed to general Paskewitch, greatly contributed to the public alarm. The Christian population, on the one hand, expected every moment to be attacked and slaughtered by the infuriated Mohammadans, and a great number of Greeks and others supposed to be favourable to the Russians were actually put to death in Constantinople during the excitement, by the order of the Sultan. The Mohammadans, on the other hand, anticipated the most violent measures at the hands of the victorious Muscovites as the punishment of their severe measures against the Christians. In the midst of this tumult of public feeling, the ambassadors of England and Austria exerted themselves to the utmost to bring about a pacification; and Count Diebitch having carefully concealed the weakness of his army, and his real inability to follow up his successes, had such a step been requisite, or even to retreat with safety, had such a measure been demanded, the Sultan reluctantly agreed to the conclusion of a treaty of peace.

While these events were taking place in European Turkey, General Paskewitch was pursuing that brilliant career in the Asiatic dominions of the Sultan, which has placed him on a level, in point of military skill, with the most distinguished generals of modern times. The utmost efforts were made by the Sultan's troops to recover the places which had already been wrested from them by the enemy. New levies had been ordered by the Sultan, the Pasha of Maïdan had been promoted to the rank of Seraskier, and the Pasha of Sivas appointed his Kaïa as second in command of the Turkish army,

which it was expected would number about eighty thousand men.

One of the first operations of the Ottoman army was an attempt to recover the fortress of Akhalzikh. The desperate efforts which were made for this purpose, notwithstanding the valour of the Sultan's forces, were vain. General Paskewitch anticipated every movement, and defeated every attempt. The Russians at length gave battle to the Seraskier's army; the Ottoman forces were defeated, and the city of Erzeroum, Kniss, and other scarcely less important places, fell into the possession of the victor. General Paskewitch was pursuing a course of uninterrupted success, when the intelligence reached him that the war was at an end. As may be presumed, the services of the two distinguished generals who had thus been instrumental in spreading so widely the fame of the Russian Emperor, were fully acknowledged and munificently rewarded by their imperial master. Each of them received the baton of a field-marshal. Count Diebitch assumed the title of Zabalkansky in commemoration of his passage over the Balkans, and while their countrymen placed them on a level with the most illustrious of their national heroes, the Czar conferred upon each of them the more substantial reward of a million of roubles.

It is requisite now to refer to the celebrated treaty of Hadrianople, which concluded the war of 1828-29. It contained sixteen distinct articles, by which, among other matters, the following conditions were agreed upon:—The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and all the conquered places in Bulgaria and Roumelia, were restored to the Porte, with the exception of the islands at the mouth of the Danube, which were to remain the possession of Russia. In Asia all the recent conquests were to revert to the Porte, with the exception of Anapa, on the north-eastern shore of the Black Sea, several important fortresses, together with an extensive district situated to the north and east of a line of demarcation supposed to be drawn from the then existing boundary of the province of Gouriel, and thence by that of Imeritia direct to the point where the frontiers of Kars unite with those of Georgia. The conditions of the treaties of Kainardji, Buchar-

est, and Ackerman were confirmed; an amnesty was provided for political offenders in every part of Turkey; the passage of the Dardanelles was declared open to all Russian merchant ships, as well as the undisputed navigation of the Black Sea; an indemnity for losses by Russian subjects was fixed at £750,000, to be paid in eighteen months; and the expenses of the war were to be paid to the Russian Government, amounting to 10,000,000 ducats, about £5,000,000. It was moreover provided that the evacuation of the Turkish territories should take place contemporaneously with the progressive discharge of the large sum thus to be paid.*

To this treaty two separate acts were annexed, the provisions of which are of scarcely less importance than the treaty itself. By these acts it was arranged that the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia should be elected for life instead of for seven years; that no interference in the affairs of these provinces by any of the officers of the Porte should take place; that no fortified towns, nor any establishment of Muslims, should be retained by the Porte on the left bank of the Danube; that the Turkish towns on that bank of the river should belong to Wallachia; and that the Mussulmans who possessed property in such places should be required to sell it in the space of eighteen months. In addition to these and certain other matters, strict arrangements were made as to the liquidation of the sum demanded by Russia as an indemnity.† The conclusion of these treaties on the 14th September 1829, terminated the war between Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman Empire was not permitted long to enjoy the peace which the treaty of Hadrianople had purchased; and the assault which had proceeded from the north was followed by an attack on the Sultan's authority in an opposite quarter of his dominions. The successful issue of the struggle for independence in Greece, the triumph of the Russian

* The present aspect of affairs renders the treaty of Hadrianople so interesting, that it has been considered requisite to present it at full length in the Appendix No. II.

† See the "Separate Acts," Appendix No. III.

forces, the annihilation of the Janizaries, and the disaffection of a large portion of the population who regretted their destruction, together with the state of feeling among the Christian population of the Turkish Empire, constituted too obvious a proof of national weakness to fail in attracting the attention of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt, and exciting that ambition for which he was distinguished.

This celebrated person was born at Cavalla, an insignificant village of Roumelia, and having in early life lost his father, he entered the service of the governor of his native town. From the humble occupation of tax-gatherer, he raised himself by his talents and industry in the favourable consideration of the authorities, and was ultimately appointed to the command of the contingent of troops furnished by his native district to aid in the defence of Egypt during the expedition of Buonaparte in 1798. He landed in Egypt as Bim-Bashi or captain, with three hundred men under his orders. Up to the year 1779, the power of the Turks and the Mamelukes had alternated in that province, but the period seemed now to have arrived when both were to yield to a superior power in the person of the Turkish captain, who soon became a general of division, and at the termination of eight years was invested by the Sultan with the authority of Viceroy. Possessed of extraordinary ability and great mental vigour, he repelled every attack made upon his territories, and gained new strength with each successive struggle. He pushed his conquests into Nubia, farther than even the arms either of the Greeks or the Persians had been able to penetrate. He subdued the Wahabees, who had held in contempt the forces of the Sultan himself, and the Khan of Persia, and he put down the power of the Mamelukes. Possessed of the sagacity to perceive the value of an army completely devoted to his interests, he adopted with great success such measures as rendered the military profession highly desirable. He took care that his soldiers should be protected by an equitable military code from oppression and outrage, that they should be liberally treated, and well clothed and fed; and to secure their discipline and efficiency, he obtained the services of numerous

foreign officers of high intelligence and character. At the period to which reference is now made, he had collected an army of forty thousand men, with a naval force of ten ships of the line, together with more than twenty armed vessels of smaller dimensions. In addition to these vast improvements, he was careful to encourage those operations of industry on which alone permanent national prosperity can be founded. The formation of roads, the digging of canals, the introduction of manufactures, occupied his most sedulous attention, and under his judicious and fostering care, a country which for ages, notwithstanding its great natural advantages, had been immersed in misery, vice, and degradation, began to furnish the happiest indications of growing prosperity. It is not easy to overrate the great ability with which these reforms and improvements have been carried out, nor the sagacity by which they have been planned; and it may truly be added, that the Pasha, notwithstanding his defects, merits a high place in the annals of patriotism.

During the protracted struggle for independence in Greece, the forces of the Egyptian Viceroy had mainly contributed to sustain the Sultan's endeavour to extinguish the insurrection, and had not the European powers interfered, his son and generalissimo Ibrahim, would, it is more than probable, have eventually terminated the struggle by the total destruction of the Greeks. The power which he thus possessed, and which gave him an apparent superiority over the Sultan himself, the improvements which he had introduced into Egypt, the high efficacy of his army, attained by great expense and exertion, together with the suggestions of that ambition, of which the Viceroy, as is obvious from his history, possessed no inconsiderable share, led him not only to desire complete independence, but increase of territory; if, indeed, he was not tempted to entertain still higher views, which his own power and the distracted state of Turkey, together with the ruin of its fine army, might naturally have led him to consider by no means difficult of accomplishment.

Whatever may have been the extent of the designs which the Viceroy entertained, he resolved to carry them out without

delay. Having quarrelled with Abdallah Pasha, the governor of St. Jean d'Acre, he sent Ibrahim against him in 1832, with an army of from forty thousand to fifty thousand men, thus making war without consulting the Porte against one of its own provinces. Mahmoud II., on becoming aware of this procedure, despatched a firman from Constantinople, directing the belligerents to make peace, and to lay their complaints at the foot of his throne, that he might decide between them, and commanding Ibrahim, at the same time, instantly to withdraw his troops from Syria.

With these commands the Pasha of Egypt had no intention of complying. He returned an evasive answer to the Sultan, and ordered Ibrahim to continue the siege of Acre, which had been already begun, while the order of the Sultan to send an army against him to punish him as a rebel confirmed him in his hostile purposes. The condition of the Porte rendered it unable to fulfil its threat of opposition, and Ibrahim pursued his career without interruption. Gaza, Jaffa, and Caiffa were speedily reduced, Acre was besieged for three months, and bombarded incessantly both from the sea and the land side of the fortress, but Abdallah Pasha, who commanded the garrison, refused to surrender. At length the Ottoman army made its appearance and advanced to Tripoli, but on the approach of Ibrahim, whose military skill was fully appreciated by his opponents, Osman, the Ottoman general, fled, and his whole artillery, ammunition, and provisions, fell into Ibrahim's possession. Abdallah, thus deprived of the relief he had so long expected from Constantinople, now consented to capitulate, and St. Jean d'Acre was surrendered.

This triumph did not satisfy the ambitious Pasha, and in the month of June, Ibrahim, having reinforced his army, marched from Acre to Damascus. A considerable body of cavalry and infantry, which were drawn up under the walls of that city, fled on the first charge of his troops, and Damascus at once surrendered. Ibrahim then continued his route northwards towards Aleppo, and on the banks of the Orontes completely defeated an army of twenty thousand men, under the Pasha of that city, and those of Damascus and

Tripoli, taking possession of all their tents, provisions, ammunition, and thirty-one pieces of cannon. In this decisive battle, Ibrahim lost only one hundred and two men killed, and one hundred and sixty-two wounded, while of the Turkish force two thousand were killed, and two thousand four hundred wounded and made prisoners.

The Sultan, meantime greatly alarmed at the success of his enemies, who were rapidly advancing towards the Bosphorus, had succeeded, by great exertions, in raising a force of thirty-six thousand men, which he sent against Ibrahim under the command of the celebrated Hussein Pasha, who had been Aga of the Janizaries, and possessed very considerable military experience. Hussein took up a strong position at Beilan, between Antioch and Scanderoon, resolving to guard the passages leading across the range of the Taurus. His encampment could be approached only by a defile which he had strengthened by means of batteries, and cannon placed on the height above it. Ibrahim, however, with consummate skill, having silenced the batteries and carried the heights above them, attacked Hussein's army, and a complete victory was the immediate consequence. The Turkish army fled in all directions, leaving their whole baggage and artillery to the victors, together with a large store of provisions which a fleet of sixty transports had recently brought from Constantinople.

Thus before the beginning of August 1832, the whole of Syria had been overrun by the army of Egypt, and the Porte seemed to be in no condition to offer any effectual opposition to the continued triumph of its too powerful vassal. One more vigorous effort was, however, made to sustain its authority in Syria. An army of sixty thousand men was collected under the command of Redschid Pasha, the Grand Vizier, and marched against Ibrahim, whose army, although much inferior in numbers, was not only inured to war and accustomed to victory, but led by officers of unquestionable military skill. The Egyptian force was stationed behind the town of Koniah, and could only be approached by a passage through dangerous defiles. The Vizier, nevertheless, hastened his march, and on the 21st December attacked the position of the enemy. The

battle was no less disastrous to the Porte than those by which it had been preceded. It lasted six hours, and ended in a total defeat of the Turkish troops, although the victory was dearly purchased by the Egyptians.

It would be difficult to describe the consternation which the result of this battle occasioned in Constantinople. There now seemed to be no conceivable means by which to prevent the victorious Ibrahim from marching through Anatolia to the shores of the Bosphorus, and assailing the capital of the empire itself. In such an emergency the only hope of the Sultan naturally lay in the assistance which the European powers might be willing to afford him; and the aid of Russia being most easily obtained, he found himself, however reluctant, compelled to solicit it. In February, therefore, application was made to Russia for assistance, and the Czar, who was anxiously awaiting the moment when the difficulties of the Sultan would compel him to place himself under Russian protection, instantly agreed to the request. A fleet sailed from Sebastopol, and in February anchored at the entrance of the Bosphorus, to guard the passage from Asia into Europe; and two months afterwards, a force of fifteen thousand Russians were landed at Scutari, to form a barrier against the further advance of the Egyptian forces.

Efforts in the meantime had been made to obtain peace with the Egyptian Viceroy, in which the Reis-effendi was assisted by the ambassador of France, and after much negotiation, the arrangement of Kutahieh was concluded, which, however, did not assume the character of an actual treaty. The Sultan found it requisite, as the price of this arrangement, to cede to the Pasha the whole of Syria, together with Adana; and at the same time to grant an amnesty to the inhabitants of that portion of his dominions. Thus, on the one hand, while the Pasha of Egypt wrested from the Sultan an immense portion of his territory, part of which was invaluable to him from the fine timber for ship-building which it yielded, on the other hand, the authority of Russia was established in Constantinople, and Mahmoud was made to feel the complete state of dependence in which he stood to the Czar. The settlement thus effected was, however, of such a

nature as to forbode a renewal of the war which it had been intended to conclude. It was a truce rather than a peace. The ambitious Pasha desired to hold in perpetuity that which he had obtained in trust, and the Sultan could not but be desirous to revoke that which he had been compelled to concede. "The Pasha and the Sultan," says a highly competent authority, "both wished to break the agreement: the Pasha from a desire of independence, the Sultan from hopes of gaining the territory he had lost." *

On the cessation of hostilities between the Sultan and his rebellious vassal, the Emperor of Russia was not unmindful of the favourable opportunity which had been afforded him for advancing those interests and establishing those claims on which it is obvious, from his general policy, he seemed to be intent. The "Treaty of Unkiar-Skelessi" was entered into between the Sultan and the Emperor, and signed at Constantinople, July 8, 1833. This treaty consisted of six articles, and by its terms its duration was fixed at eight years from its ratification. By it the contracting parties bound themselves together for the "common defence of their dominions;" to afford each other "substantial aid and the most efficacious assistance;" and the party requiring such aid was bound to furnish the expense of provisioning such land and sea forces as might be required. To this treaty, however, a "separate article" was appended, which contains the following passage: "Nevertheless, as his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to spare the Sublime Ottoman Porte the expense and inconvenience which might be occasioned to it by affording substantial aid, will not ask for that aid if circumstances should place the Sublime Porte under the obligation of furnishing it. The Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need according to the principle of reciprocity of the patent treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia, to closing the strait of the Dardanelles, that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatsoever." †

* M. Guizot. Debates in the French Chambers, 1840.

† For this treaty, see Appendix No. IV.

This article is worthy of careful attention. Looking at the power of Russia at this period as compared with that of Turkey, the promise of assistance which the latter power gives to the former can hardly fail to be regarded as of but small importance, and by no means likely ever to be exacted, and, even if performed, in no way endangering the stronger power receiving that aid; whereas the protection of Russia was likely to be required; and the history of Poland and of the Crimea and other territories, exhibited the result to be anything but "efficacious" to the protected state, unless in a sense in which the state so protected could not be expected to understand the term. It will also be observed, that in the separate article the preceding conditions are altered, and the Czar agrees that the Sultan shall be freed from the obligation of giving aid if that aid be inconvenient, only on condition of closing the Dardanelles against foreign vessels of war.

Such was the state of matters in 1833. In the following year, Russia obtained a further ascendancy by another treaty with Turkey. By the terms of this arrangement, the Czar relinquished his right to two-thirds of what remained to be paid in respect of the indemnities secured by the treaty of Hadrianople, and, on the other hand, the Sultan ceded to the Czar an extensive district, in order to round off his frontiers in Asia, and it was further agreed that the Porte was to liquidate the portion of the debt due to Russia when it might be suitable, but Silistria was to remain in the hands of the Czar as a pledge for the ultimate payment. Russia thus obtained the command of the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and left the Turkish territories unprotected. In addition to these stipulations, the free passage of the Dardanelles was also permitted to Russian ships. On the conclusion of these arrangements, the Russian troops retired into Bessarabia, and the Sultan found leisure to pursue his important projects of reform. Such taxes as were most oppressive were subjected to modification, and particularly the poll-tax, to which reference has already been made; and a firman was issued for the establishment of a militia or national guard, which, instead of being permanently embodied, should

be assembled only at certain times to receive instruction in military discipline. Mahmoud, however, violated, in a manner for which little apology can be made, almost the only privilege which had remained to the Greek Christians, by deposing their patriarch, and nominating his successor, a measure which excited the utmost dissatisfaction among that portion of his subjects.

While the Sultan was thus engaged, he continued to reinforce the army in Asia under Redschid Pasha, in the expectation that an opportunity might be afforded for the recovery of those portions of his empire which had been wrested from him through the ambition of the Egyptian viceroy—an expectation in which he was encouraged by the discontent to which the rule of that potentate had already given birth.

While thus occupied, Mahmoud was doomed to undergo the extreme mortification of experiencing the strength of those fetters by which the treaties with Russia had bound him. The possession of Silistria, and access to the Dardanelles, to the exclusion of the ships of war of other states, had so rivetted those fetters, as to render the movements of the Porte extremely difficult.

The Machiavel of St. Petersburg, true to the spirit of his subtle policy of intervention, had sent to Constantinople a number of medals to be distributed among the Turkish soldiers who had served with his own troops in the camp of Unkiar Skelessi. These decorations, it is true, might have been regarded as mere marks of courtesy on the part of the Czar; but it could not but fail to appear to the Sultan that they were more likely to be considered by his troops as badges of degradation, received as they were from an enemy of the empire. It cannot be doubted that the Czar clearly perceived that the distribution of these medals, if it did not occasion a revolutionary movement, would cause disunion and discontent, and so pave the way for further interference in Turkish affairs. The importance which the Emperor Nicholas attached to this apparently trivial matter, sufficiently evinced his attention to every move of the great game in which he was engaged. His ambassador, finding the

Divan slow to adopt the recommendation of presenting the decorations, at first adopted a gentle tone of reproof; but reproof soon assumed the harsh character of rebuke, and at last took the shape of a command addressed to the Sultan and his Divan, in the words, *L'Empereur le veut.** The humiliating position of the Sultan at this moment may be gathered from the fact that the Divan felt constrained to obey the order of the Sultan, although at the risk of an insurrection.

Other proceedings on the part of the court of Russia soon followed, which proved that the Czar had no intention of permitting his increased influence in Constantinople to remain in abeyance. The treaty of Skelessi had closed the Dardanelles against all armed vessels but those of Russia, and it was presumed by Britain and France that the prohibition referred only to a time of war. They were now to discover their error. The French government had placed at the disposal of M. Texier, a sloop of war to aid him in his archæological researches on the shores of the Euxine, and when the French admiral applied for leave to enter the Straits, it was refused, the Porte pleading as its difficulty the treaty of Skelessi. The British ambassador also requested that the minister to the court of Persia (Mr. Ellis) should be permitted to sail by Trebizond to the seat of his embassy, and Russia interfered, because the vessel in which he was to pass was a ship of war. Even the British ambassador to St. Petersburg, Lord Durham, having adopted a circuitous route to the Russian capital by Constantinople and Odessa, was not permitted to pass the straits in the ship of war in which he had embarked, and was under the necessity of transferring himself to a steam-vessel incapable even of returning the salute of those Russian frigates which were to be found where no British or French ship of war dared to appear; and on arriving at Odessa, the representative of England did not receive a salute until considerable delay had occurred.†

The Sultan, in addition to the mortifying circumstances in which he was placed as regarded Russia, found himself

* Ann. Hist. 495.

† Lord Palmerston's Speech in Parliament, 1836.

also disturbed by revolts in some of his provinces. Insurrections broke out in Albania and in Kurdistan. In the former, a chief named Tafil Bassi headed the rebels, and made himself master of the important towns of Berat, Tepelon, and Argyrocastra, while the inhabitants of Scutari and the adjoining districts rose in arms in consequence of an unpopular tax laid upon them. These revolutionary proceedings, however, the army of the Sultan subdued by a battle with the rebels near Alessio, and by conceding the demands of the inhabitants of Scutari. In Kurdistan, Redschid Mehemet Pasha also defeated the rebels after an obstinate conflict, and their leader Tehlee Bey was taken prisoner, together with his mother and sister, who were said to have performed prodigies of valour during the battle. The check thus given to the proceedings of the insurgents, however considerable, did not entirely subdue the tendency to revolt, and frequent disturbances continued to occur among some of the Asiatic tribes. While thus occupied with his domestic enemies, the Sultan felt naturally desirous to free himself as far as possible from the influence of Russia, and to obtain his fortress of Silistria. A convention, therefore, was entered into in 1836, by which, on payment of one-half of the balance remaining due, the Czar agreed to restore that important stronghold. This condition having been fulfilled, Silistria was once more garrisoned by the troops of the Porte.

Mahmoud II., notwithstanding the manifold troubles to which he had been so long exposed, continued most laudably to carry out his reforms, disregarding with great vigour the impediments to which popular error and prejudice gave rise. Although the Kur-án had proscribed all representations of animated beings, the Sultan had the good sense as well as good taste to establish a school of portrait-painters in Constantinople. He carried this on so far as to send his portrait to the army and navy, commanding it to be publicly exhibited. Great discontent was thus occasioned among the "faithful," who regarded their enlightened sovereign as a heretic; and not a few of the Sultan's opponents either underwent banishment, or atoned for their fanaticism in the

waves of the Bosphorus. A hatti-sheriff was likewise issued, establishing a school of anatomy; and notwithstanding the opposition offered by the 'Ulama to this innovation, the Sultan succeeded in obtaining the sanction of the Muftee. A very valuable arrangement was also made by a similar decree, substituting for the privilege which the native merchants possessed of appealing against the Franks to the Turkish commercial law, an appeal to the decision of a committee, the constitution of which was such as to confer considerable advantages upon foreign merchants. A firman was also issued for the free exportation of corn, which, although in some measure nullified by its provisions, was nevertheless a proof of the increase of sound commercial policy. In 1838, also, a commercial treaty was entered into between Great Britain and the Porte, which tended to strengthen their connection, as well as to advance the mercantile interests of both nations.

While Sultan Mahmoud was thus occupied in furthering those interests, the prosperity of which is the chief source of national greatness, the temporary settlement which, by the intervention of the European powers, had been made at Kutahieh in 1833 with the rebellious Pasha of Egypt, continued to be maintained. That arrangement, however, was in reality but an armed truce, which both parties were ready at any favourable juncture to terminate. In the year 1838 the Pasha took the primary step towards the violation of the existing compromise, by declining for the future to pay any further tribute to the Porte, and thus virtually asserting his entire independence. To this measure he likewise added the assumption of certain attributes, belonging only to the Sultan as the chief of Islam. These bold proceedings determined the Sultan to endeavour once more to reduce the Pasha to submission, and the early part of the year 1839 beheld a very vigorous effort to carry out this resolution. A large army, well equipped and furnished with an immense *materiel*, was assembled on the eastern side of the Euphrates, the most convenient position from which to threaten the Syrian dominions of the Egyptian Pasha. Ibrahim at the same time

concentrated his forces at Aleppo, but was strictly forbidden by his father to begin the contest by becoming the aggressor.

These hostile preparations were not unnoticed by the governments of France and Britain. The treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had given to Russia the exclusive protectorate of the Turkish dominions, and they were apprehensive lest, upon the defeat of the Sultan's forces by Ibrahim Pasha—an event which had frequently occurred at the commencement of the dispute, and might be expected again to occur—a Russian fleet would take possession of the Bosphorus, and consequences might follow detrimental to the general interests of Europe. France and Britain accordingly directed their representatives at Constantinople, and the consuls at Alexandria, to make the utmost efforts to prevent any departure from the existing arrangements, and their efforts succeeded in procuring from the Pasha an assurance that if the troops of the Sultan which had just crossed the Euphrates near Bir should retire to the other side of the river, he would order his own army to execute a retrograde movement, and recal his son Ibrahim Pasha to Damascus, and further, in the event of this pacific demonstration being followed by a similar retrograde movement on the part of the Sultan's army, he would enjoin his generalissimo to return to Egypt. In addition to this assurance, the Pasha farther intimated, that if, by the intervention of the European powers, peace were maintained, and the hereditary government of his dominions secured to his family, he would withdraw a portion of his forces from Syria, and conclude a formal and definitive arrangement.*

The representations, however, which had prevailed with the Pasha, produced no effect upon the Sultan, who, strengthened by the sanction of the 'Ulama, considered it his imperative duty to repress the usurpations of his vassal by force of arms. The primary reason of this resolution was stated to be the unwarrantable assumption by the Pasha of the supreme authority of matters relating to the faith of Islam, and the administration of the holy cities of Mekkeh and Medeeneh—an authority which pertained exclusively to the "Commander

* Ann. Hist. 409.

of the Faithful." A manifesto was accordingly issued, by which the Pasha and his son Ibrahim were deprived of all their dignities and functions, and Hafiz, the generalissimo of the Ottoman armies, appointed to succeed to the government of Egypt; and war having been proclaimed, a fleet of thirty-five vessels sailed from Constantinople to disembark troops on the coast of Syria, in expectation of an insurrection among the population, who were known to be highly dissatisfied with the severe rule of the Egyptian viceroy. The Sultan embarked in the admiral's ship, and accompanied his fleet as far as Cape St. Stephano, when he was under the necessity of going ashore in consequence of his state of health, instead of proceeding, as he originally intended, as far as the Dardanelles.

Meantime the Sultan's army and that of the Pasha, each composed of between thirty and forty thousand men, after some skirmishes between their advanced guards, came into each other's presence, and on the 24th of June, near Nezib, a decisive engagement took place between them in which the Sultan's forces were completely routed, and Hafiz Pasha was obliged to fly with the relics of his army across the frontier, having lost six thousand men killed or wounded, and ten thousand made prisoners, leaving Ibrahim in possession of all his stores, including fifteen thousand muskets, and one hundred and four pieces of cannon.

The tidings of this fatal battle, and the consequent failure of the expedition to Syria, never reached the Sultan. On returning to Constantinople, after accompanying his fleet on its voyage, his health, which had long been very infirm, gave way, and notwithstanding every effort to save his life, he died on the 1st of July 1839, after having reigned thirty-one years.

CHAPTER XXXII.

A.D. 1839—1841.

Accession of Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan—His character—Changes in the Ministry—Offer of pardon to the Pasha of Egypt—The Ottoman fleet carried to Egypt—Conditions of the Pasha's submission—Mediation of the five powers—The Hatti-sheriff of Gulhaneh—Insurrection in Lebanon—Persecution of the Jews of Rhodes and Damascus—The Sultan's speech to his Ministers—The Brunow convention—Its consequences—The Allies attack Beyrout—St. Jean d'Acre and other fortresses taken—Defeat of the Egyptian forces—The Pasha invested with the hereditary possession of Egypt.

PRINCE AHMED, the heir-apparent to the Ottoman throne, having died in 1823, Mahmoud was succeeded by his second son Abdul Medjid, the present Sultan.* This young prince was born in the same year which beheld the death of his brother Ahmed, and was therefore but sixteen years of age at the period of his accession to the throne. Notwithstanding his youth and inexperience, the most favourable expectations were cherished by his people as to his future career. Although he was inferior in personal appearance to his predecessor, yet his subjects delighted to trace in him the characteristics of his distinguished race, in the paleness of his complexion, a peculiarity, according to their historians, of the descendants of Othman, and in the general dignity of his demeanour; while there were not wanting those who thought him too gentle for the perilous days on which he had fallen, for his large dark eyes wore a contemplative and benignant expression, instead of gleaming with the

* Abdul Medjid, *i.e.*, "Servant of the God of glory."

ferocious passions of his ancestor Selim I., and the tones of his voice, instead of inspiring horror, like that of the famous Bajazet, the antagonist of Timour, were in a high degree musical and pleasing. Sultan Abdul Medjid, indeed, possessed many qualities capable of rendering him a most deservedly popular sovereign, and his proceedings since he ascended the throne have fully justified the favourable expectations which were formed of him in his youth; while he has shewn himself to be mild, humane, and peaceable, he has, in his earnest efforts to advance the prosperity of his dominions, proved himself to be liberal and enlightened. He has also demonstrated that he is far from deficient in the valuable qualities of energy and decision of character. Among the many incidents by which these remarks might be illustrated, may be mentioned, as evincing the Sultan's benevolence, his generous sympathy for the people of Ireland, during the famine caused a few years since by the failure of their crops, and his munificent subscription on their behalf; and as indicating alike the integrity and firmness of his character, his noble refusal on the threatening demands of Austria and Russia a few years ago, to violate the laws of hospitality by the extradition of the Hungarian and Polish refugees.

The death of Sultan Mahmoud was followed by various changes in the Ottoman ministry. Kosrew Pasha, who had been formerly president of the council of state, and whose sagacity and intelligence had been of the greatest moment to his late sovereign, was elevated to the office of Grand Vizier. Halil Pasha was made Seraskier or commander-in-chief of the army, and director of the war department; and other alterations also took place which were calculated to support the policy of the youthful sovereign.

The war with the Pasha of Egypt was necessarily the primary object which forced itself on the attention of the Sultan and his Divan. Abdul Medjid, in order to prevent the effusion of blood which the further progress of the contest must have occasioned, although he was yet unaware of the calamity which had befallen his army in Syria, forwarded to

the Viceroy an offer of pardon, together with the hereditary possession of Egypt, on the condition of his submission. At the same time orders were despatched to the Capitan Pasha not to proceed with his fleet to Syria, as originally intended, but to remain within the Dardanelles. Commands were also transmitted to the Seraskier Hafiz Pasha in Asia, authorising him to suspend the march of the Sultan's forces. The Grand Vizier Kosrew who, like his royal master was still ignorant of the fate of the Syrian army, communicated these proposals, and intimated to the Pasha the orders which had thus been given to the army and navy.

But a very unexpected incident now occurred, and one which exercised a considerable influence upon subsequent events. On receiving the orders of Kosrew, the Capitan Pasha Achmet disregarded them, and instead of remaining within the Dardanelles, set sail for Egypt, after having issued a declaration charging the Grand Vizier with being a traitor to his late sovereign. In the middle of July the whole Ottoman fleet arrived at Alexandria, and were in the possession of the Pasha, who had by that time become aware of the victory which his son and generalissimo had gained in Syria. It is obvious, therefore, that the Viceroy was now in circumstances to negociate with the Porte on much higher ground than before the two events now referred to had taken place. Under existing circumstances he demanded that the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt, Syria, and Candia, should be conferred upon him. On this condition he assured the Sultan that he would become his most faithful servant, and be prepared to defend him upon all occasions. He also informed the ambassadors, that as to the Ottoman fleet which had been placed in his hands, he had no intention of employing it against the Porte, but would deliver it up as soon as his proposals should be complied with. He likewise stipulated that Kosrew Pasha should be removed from the office of prime minister; and assured the Sultan that on the completion of these arrangements he would proceed in a single steam-vessel to Constantinople, and make his dutiful submission to him as his royal master.

These proposals, it would appear, were about to be complied with, and a minister plenipotentiary was about to be sent to Alexandria to complete the arrangement, when, on the 27th July, the ambassadors of the five great powers of Europe —England, France, Prussia, Russia, and Austria—made the following communication to the Sultan :—"The undersigned received this morning instructions from their respective governments, in pursuance of which they have the honour of informing the Sublime Porte that the five powers have agreed to discuss and settle together the Eastern question. They accordingly invite the Divan to suspend a definite arrangement without their concurrence, and to confide in the benevolent dispositions of the mediating powers."* The measure thus proposed, and which it is obvious was of great importance to Turkey, is said to have originated in the suggestions of the French government.

Before proceeding further, it is requisite to remark that the disturbances which had arisen in Egypt had not interrupted the course of civil reformation on which the late Sultan Mahmoud had entered.

On ascending the Ottoman throne, Abdul Medjid resolved to carry out the liberal principles of his father, whose improvements, it is only justice to add, considering the extreme difficulties with which he had to contend, and the innumerable obstacles thrown in his way by the inveterate prejudices of his Mohammadan subjects, placed him in a high rank among European reformers. The youthful monarch was led to follow the example of Mahmoud II., not only by his own inclination, but by the sound and judicious counsel of his Grand Vizier, a minister of great ability and experience. Early in November, only four months after his accession, the Sultan issued the hatti-sheriff of Gulhaneh, which has not inappropriately been termed the magna-charta of the Ottoman Empire. The chief provisions of this celebrated decree consisted of regulations as to the mode of levying the capitation tax; the secure possession of life and property by all the subjects of the empire without distinction; the placing of judges on adequate fixed

* Ann. Hist. vol. lxxxi. p. 413.

salaries as a means of obtaining an impartial administration of justice; and a variety of other particulars of high importance to the public. This decree, which was published with great pomp and solemnity, caused the utmost satisfaction throughout the whole empire.

While the European powers were employed in discussing the terms on which the Pasha of Egypt should be compelled to settle his dispute with the Porte, the indefatigable Viceroy was vigorously preparing to assert his assumed rights, should it be requisite so to do. A levy of new troops was ordered. The workmen of the various factories of Cairo were formed into regiments and regularly drilled; and it is said that in this manner he succeeded in embodying in that city an efficient force of thirty thousand men. By daily visiting the fleet, he soon became extremely popular with the Turkish officers and seamen. It was evident that he had firmly resolved to support his pretensions to the last by resisting force with force. Under Ibrahim, his heroic son and general, he had in Syria, seventy thousand regular troops, besides a vast number of irregulars, and more than fifty thousand Bedoween Arabs; and on board the fleet there were thirty-six thousand men ready for service either on sea or land.

While the negotiations on the part of the great powers of Europe for a settlement of the Eastern question were proceeding, some occurrences took place in the Ottoman Empire worthy of being here referred to. During the winter of 1839 great efforts had been made in Constantinople to carry out the design of the hatti-sheriff of Gulhaneh, and with a considerable measure of success. In March in the year following Abdul Medjid originated a practice hitherto unknown in Turkey, in imitation obviously of the proceedings of the constitutional monarchs of England and France. Having assembled together the officers of state, the members of the 'Ulama, and all the great functionaries of the empire, he addressed to them a speech from the throne, describing what had been done as to the celebrated decree referred to, and repeating with great earnestness his desire to do away with any abuses and vexatious proceedings which still existed. An address

to the Sultan was then adopted, accepting the assurances contained in the royal speech; and to this address the Sultan's hatti-sheriff was afterwards affixed, notifying that it was his Highness's intention every year to present himself solemnly before the council to make known his sentiments upon public affairs.*

At the same time the Jews of Rhodes and Damascus became the objects of a cruel persecution. The ignorant populace of these places, and indeed some persons of a much higher order, became excited by a charge made against the Israelites, that they used human blood at their passover. In Damascus the sudden and unaccountable disappearance of a Catholic priest named Father Thomas, gave a colour to the atrocious calumny. A poor Hebrew barber, near whose shop he had last been seen, was seized and subjected to torture to compel him to confess the justice of the charge against his brethren. In his agony he accused several of the Jews of having put the priest to death. The unhappy Israelites were at once thrown into prison and subjected to the most shocking cruelties. Besides other sufferings, they had their ears torn off, and their faces flayed and burnt with red hot irons. In Rhodes similar barbarities were perpetrated on an equally false accusation. To put a stop to them, both the Pasha of Egypt and the Sultan interfered. The Pasha of Rhodes was deposed as an evidence of the sense which the Porte entertained of the injustice with which its Jewish subjects had been treated. An insurrection also took place at Lebanon among the Druses and others, in consequence of the oppressive proceedings of the Egyptian Pasha, and after a great amount of damage was done, and many lives destroyed, this movement was finally quelled by the Egyptian army.

It was not till the middle of 1840 that the arrangement was adopted which is known as the Brunow Convention, the purpose of which was to terminate the dispute between the Sultan and the Pasha of Egypt. This convention was signed in London between England, Russia, Prussia, and Austria, and it made known to Mehemet Ali the following ultimatum,

* Ann. Hist. lxxxii. 187.

viz.: That the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt should be secured to his family, and the pashalik of St. Jean d'Acre possessed by himself for life, and that if he refused to accept these terms in ten days, the Sultan would offer him Egypt only; if he still persisted in refusing, the contracting powers would force him to agree to their terms.*

When these conditions were made known to the Viceroy, he endeavoured to gain time by opening a negotiation with the Porte; but the proposals which he made being deemed unsuitable, the Sultan with unjustifiable haste deposed him from the pashalik of Egypt. The Pasha, however, resolved to defend himself by an appeal to arms, and the parties to the Convention of London immediately had recourse to hostilities. The ports of Syria and Egypt were placed under a strict blockade by the allied fleet, and measures were taken to reduce the fortresses which were in the hands of the Egyptians. In September arrangements were made by the fleet to take the town and fortress of Beyrout. The naval force consisted of thirteen ships of war and four steam-vessels under Commodore Napier, seven armed vessels of different sizes under the Turkish admiral, and three Austrian vessels. It was found that the Egyptian troops occupied a strong position behind the crest of a hill to the southwest of the harbour, and the attack was begun by one of the English ships, which opened its fire upon them. Five thousand men were soon after landed, and the ships then began the bombardment. For several days the fortress sustained the tremendous fire of the fleet, but on the 16th it became no longer tenable, and was abandoned by the troops. The allied army to the number of twelve thousand, besides three thousand Syrians, having been landed, had entrenched themselves in a strong position on shore, under the command of the gallant Commodore Napier, and on the 26th of the month Saida was taken by storm by that officer, who led a body of British, Austrian, and Turkish troops. Meantime the oppression which the Egyptian Viceroy had exercised in Syria began to produce its effects. Ibrahim Pasha found his ranks daily thinned by

* For this convention, see Appendix No. VIII.

desertion, and after the reduction of Saida, a large body of his soldiers went over to the allies, so that it became necessary for him to retire to Damascus. On the 10th of October an engagement took place between the allied forces and those of Egypt, in which the latter were utterly discomfited. Beyrout was entered next day by the allies, and shortly afterwards Tripoli, Tortosa, and Latakia also fell into their possession.

The celebrated fortress of St. Jean d'Acre still remained in the hands of the Egyptian governor Soliman Pasha. It was considered impregnable, but the allies determined to reduce it. On the 26th of October the Ottoman admiral resolved to summon the place to surrender, but as the garrison would not receive the message, and even threatened to fire upon the boat which was sent with it, it was determined to carry the fortress by storm. The action was commenced at two o'clock on the 3d of November by Admiral Stopford in the Phœnix steamer, and Commodore Napier in the Powerful, and in the course of an hour became general. At four o'clock the magazine of the fortress exploded, and although the southern batteries were thus silenced, the western ramparts still continued to pour forth their shot. Before six o'clock the firing ceased on both sides, and at midnight a small boat came off to report that the Egyptian troops were leaving the town, and by daybreak it was in the hands of the besiegers, a detachment of Turks and Austrians having been sent ashore to take possession. In this action a vast number of the besieged were slain. Nearly two thousand perished in the explosion of the magazine alone, while the loss of the allies was comparatively trifling, eighteen only being killed, and forty-two wounded.*

* The attack on this fortress was probably the first occasion on which the advantages of steam navigation have been tested in naval warfare. There were, as above stated, four war steamers engaged in the action. They were enabled with rapidity to take up the most advantageous positions, and thus to throw their shot with the greatest advantage. It is said that the shells from the steamers did prodigious execution, so great was the accuracy with which they were projected. History presents no other instance of the downfall of such a fortress caused by the cannon of ships of war in so short a period of time. This success, however, it

The fall of this fortress was attended by important consequences. The garrisons of the Pasha immediately evacuated Caiffa and Jaffa, and finding it impossible to retain their position in Syria, endeavoured to open for themselves a passage through Palestine into Egypt. These attempts, however, were rendered futile by the attacks of the insurgents of Mutualis and Naplous, who fell upon the Egyptians on their retreat, and compelled the few who escaped with their lives to return to Acre, and place themselves as prisoners in the hands of the victors. The most disastrous results were experienced by the army of Ibrahim Pasha. Not only had it dwindled down from seventy-five thousand to twenty thousand, but those tribes who had hitherto been in the interest of the Pasha of Egypt declared themselves in favour of the Sultan; and the garrison and inhabitants of Jerusalem sent official information to the Seraskier that they had returned to their allegiance.

Almost immediately after the fall of Acre, Commodore Napier sailed to Alexandria, and entered into a convention with the Pasha, by which it was agreed that the Egyptian commander-in-chief should be ordered to evacuate Syria, and restore the Turkish fleet to the Porte as soon as official intimation should be received that the hereditary government of Egypt was granted to Mehemet Ali. In the meantime further hostilities on the part of the allies were suspended. Thus the long pending dispute between the Sultan and his vassal approached a satisfactory termination. Early in January 1841, the conditions above referred to were fulfilled. The Ottoman fleet sailed to Marmorice under the command of the admiral, and a firman was sent from Constantinople investing the Pasha with the hereditary possession of Egypt.

ought to be remembered, is the exception and not the rule in attacks of ships against granite walls. It is more than probable that it was mainly owing to the blowing up of the magazine. The Duke of Wellington in the debate in the House of Lords, February 4th, 1841, referring to this siege, said, "He would repeat that this was a singular instance, in the achievement of which great skill was undoubtedly manifested, but which was also connected with peculiar circumstances which they could not hope always to occur."

These arrangements, however, did not immediately terminate the dispute. In the month of February, other firmans arrived from Constantinople, which were intended to confer the hereditary pashalik on Mehemet Ali, on certain conditions, some of which were extremely distasteful to the Egyptian Viceroy. Among these was one which provided that, on the death of the Pasha, the Porte should have authority to choose among his heirs the person to receive the investiture, and who should be bound to come to Constantinople for that purpose. It is obvious that such a condition as this could not but be completely at variance with the objects of the Pasha; for it would naturally give origin to such domestic disputes as would render nugatory all the efforts to advance the prosperity of his country which he had already made. The Pasha, therefore, strenuously resisted the condition thus proposed, and having appealed to the four powers who had taken so much interest in the arrangement of the question between him and the Sultan, an amended firman was at last obtained, according to him the hereditary succession without any interference on the part of his sovereign. Arrangements were also made by which the tribute to be paid by the Pasha to the Porte was fixed at two million dollars, and by which the principles of the celebrated hatti-sheriff of Gulhaneh were to constitute the foundations of the laws of Egypt, with such modifications as were rendered indispensable by the peculiar circumstances of that country. The conclusion of the long-agitated question between the Sultan and his Egyptian vassal conferred upon the Ottoman Empire several years of peace, uninterrupted by any events of very striking importance.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

A.D. 1841—1854.

Improvements in the Ottoman Empire—View of the policy of Russia—A Russian army crosses the Pruth—Treaty of Balta-Liman—Dispute as to the Greek Church—Demands of Prince Menschikoff—Reply of the Turkish minister—Vain attempts to preserve peace—The Russian ambassador quits Constantinople—Demands made by Count Nesselrode—The Russians cross the Pruth—Excitement at Constantinople—Declaration of war by the Sublime Porte—Commencement of hostilities—The Russians endeavour to force the passage of the Danube—Operations of the Ottoman army on the Danube, at Giurgewo, Kalafat, and Turtukai—Battle of Oltenitza—Destruction of the Turkish fleet at Sinope—The campaign in Asia—Operations in Wallachia—Battle of Kalafat—The Russians occupy the Dobrudscha—Prince Paskewitch assumes the command—Bombardment of Odessa—Siege of Silistria.

THE settlement of the dispute between Egypt and the Porte was followed by a condition of tranquillity which had been wholly unknown to the Ottoman Empire for a very long period of time. Uninterrupted by external hostilities, the Sultan obtained leisure to carry out such schemes of reform as appeared most likely to advance the interests of his people. Schools of literature, science, and art were established, and the utmost attention given, and with great success, to the securing of impartiality in the administration of justice. The naval and military forces of the Sultan were much improved, and exhibited in discipline and subordination a most favourable contrast with the fierce and turbulent Janizaries, who, in the latter ages of their history, were at once the terror and the weakness of the Ottoman Empire.

The spirit of improvement too, the increase of resources, and the enlargement of commercial relations, brought the Turkish people into contact with the subjects of those kingdoms which have advanced in intelligence during their stationary, if not retrograde condition, and thus ancient prejudices, founded on ignorance, bigotry, and narrow as well as erroneous views, have begun to be weakened and even dissipated. Towards the Christian population, also, increasing toleration has been extended, and, in a word, the spirit of the hatti-sheriff of Gulhaneh has been carefully observed, and its advantages have been more and more highly valued. It may be truly affirmed, in the language of a statesman who is no inadequate authority, "that Turkey has made greater progress and improvement for the last twenty years than any other country." *

It now remains to present to the reader a condensed view of the leading incidents of Ottoman history for the last year and a half. Before doing so, however, a few remarks as to the hereditary policy of Russia may be useful.

One of the most striking peculiarities in the policy of the monarchs of Russia, since the age of Peter the Great, is their continual tendency to intervention in the affairs of weaker states as a means of territorial aggrandisement. Nothing could be more likely to advance their objects than such a policy. To be permitted to become the arbiter between two contending sovereigns inferior to themselves in military or political power, was to acquire the means of disposing eventually of one or both of them. Disputes arising from competition for a vacant throne between the sons of a deceased monarch, the mutual jealousy subsisting between Christians and Mohammadans, or the oppression of the former by the latter, were circumstances which afforded a golden opportunity for an apparently generous interference, which, whenever possible, the Russian court never failed to seize, and, when wanting, rarely failed, wherever it was practicable, to originate and foment.

These remarks are illustrated by historical facts. The

* Lord Palmerston's speech in Parliament, 16th August 1853.

oppression of the Christian inhabitants of Georgia by their Mohammadan neighbours, afforded Peter the Great an opportunity of interfering, and the interference ultimately led to his becoming the sovereign of the province. The competition between the rival Khans of the Crimea for the vacant throne, enabled the Empress Catherine II., who was appealed to by one of the competitors, to seize the territory in dispute and annex it to her dominions. The disputes occurring in Poland brought about the same intervention, and terminated in a similar result. Well knowing the importance of such policy, the court of St. Petersburg has made repeated efforts to stir up the elements of religious strife in the Turkish Empire, in order to step in between the combatants, and, after adjusting their differences, retire with some immediate or some anticipated advantage.

If, on the other hand, we consider the general spirit of the treaties which have been concluded since 1774, we perceive that, with the undeviating precision of an instinct, they have almost all been so conceived, as to strengthen that tenacity of grasp by which the court of Russia adheres to its favourite, and, it must be added, successful policy of intervention.

The Czar, previous to his accession to the throne, and since that event, had become deeply impressed with the idea, which it must be admitted seemed well founded, that the Ottoman Empire was rapidly sinking into a state of decrepitude, and must sooner or later be utterly dissolved. Many events gave colour to this presumption, such as the loss of the provinces of Greece and Egypt—the successive insurrections in various parts of the empire—the imperfect mode in which they were quelled in one place, only to break out in another—the almost independent state of many of the Pashas—the feeling of discontent among the Greek population—and the obvious inferiority of the Ottoman military force. All these considerations seem to have made impressions on the mind of the Autocrat so indelible, that subsequent evidences of an opposite tendency, however striking, have been unable to remove them. We often seem to believe that which we frequently dwell upon and fervently desire to be true.

The preponderance of such impressions on the mind of the Czar is evinced by various circumstances. When his Imperial Majesty visited Great Britain in 1844, it is impossible to doubt that a very important part of his secret purpose was to come to some understanding with the British Government as to the Turkish Empire, and a memorandum delivered to that government from Count Nesselrode, "founded on communications received from the Emperor subsequently to his visit to England," speaks of the "many elements of dissolution which the Ottoman Empire contains within itself," and refers to an approaching "catastrophe in Turkey." By documents since made public, the notions of the Czar as to Turkey, and his schemes founded on those notions, have been more distinctly revealed. It appears that early in 1853, his Majesty had several interviews with the British ambassador at his court, and the secret and confidential correspondence thence arising, exhibits the extraordinary manner in which the Russian Emperor clings to his favourite belief, regardless of the alterations which the last thirteen or fourteen years have made on the Ottoman Empire. On this subject, Sir G. H. Seymour has thus expressed himself—"It can hardly be otherwise, but that the sovereign who insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighbouring state, must have settled in his own mind, that the hour, if not *of* its dissolution, at all events *for* its dissolution, must be at hand."*

Entertaining such opinions, it cannot now be a matter of astonishment that the Czar, finding that the "catastrophe" was slow to arrive, of the approach of which he seems to have entertained so profound an assurance, should himself take the initiative, and endeavour to bring it about. The events of 1853 evince the promptness with which he proved himself ready to seize upon any ground of quarrel however slight.

The revolutionary spirit of 1848 having, as might have been expected, found its way into the provinces of Wallachia

* Letter from Sir G. H. Seymour to Lord John Russell, dated St. Petersburg, Feb. 21, 1853. The whole of the correspondence to which reference has now been made, is in the highest possible degree interesting, and is strongly recommended to the attention of the student of history.

and Moldavia, the Porte adopted the prudent measure of sending a commissioner into the discontented districts to examine their complaints; and this step led to the proclamation of an amnesty. Russia, however, did not consider this quiet settlement by any means sufficient, and the troops of the Czar which were in Podolia passed the Pruth and occupied Moldavia, the Sultan being at the same time invited to send a military force to Jassy. These troops were only withdrawn after lengthened negotiations with the British government. But this step on the part of Russia was a violation of the Treaty of Balta-Liman, entered into between Russia and Turkey on the 1st May 1849.*

Although this matter had been arranged, the Czar was at no loss for another cause of quarrel. A dispute between the Latin and Greek Churches, regarding a matter really trivial in itself, readily afforded a sufficient reason for the exercise of his favourite policy of intervention, and on the 19th of April 1853, the Russian ambassador Prince Menschikoff was enjoined peremptorily to require from the Porte a reply to certain demands made by the Czar. These requests embraced the following particulars:—

1. An explicative firman, the form of which is to be agreed to, concerning the key of the Church of Bethlehem, and the silver star placed on the Altar of the Nativity in the subterranean part of the same sanctuary; the possession of the Grotto of Gethsemane by the Greeks, with the admission of the Latins to exercise therein their worship, but yet maintaining the precedency of the orthodox, and their priority for the celebration of divine service in this sanctuary; and, in fine, in what relates to the common possession of the Greeks with the Latins of the gardens of Bethlehem, and the whole according to the bases discussed between his Excellency Rifaat Pasha and the ambassador.

2. A supreme order for the immediate repair, by the Ottoman Government, of the cupola of the Temple of the Holy Sepulchre, with the participation of the Greek Patriarch, without the intermeddling of a delegate of any other worship,

* For this Treaty, see Appendix No. XI.

for the walling-up (*cloture murée*) of the harems having a view on the sanctuary; and for the demolition of the harems contiguous to the cupola, if the possibility of that demolition be proved.

3. A *Sened*, or convention for the guarantee of the strict *status quo* of the privileges of the Catholic Greco-Russian worship, of the Church of the East, and of the sanctuaries which are found in possession of that worship exclusively, or in participation with other rites at Jerusalem.

These demands were repeated on the 5th of May still more peremptorily, and the ambassador added that "he must consider a longer delay only as a want of courtesy towards his government, which would impose upon him the most painful obligations." The intimation thus given was accompanied by extensive warlike preparations both in Bessarabia and at Sebastopol, and it became obvious to the other European governments, as well as to Turkey, that a rupture between the Russian and Ottoman empires was imminent, notwithstanding the willingness of the Sultan to grant all the advantages to the Greek Christians which were really consistent with the maintenance of his authority in his own dominions, and his sovereign rights over a large majority of his European subjects. A temperate reply was nevertheless given by the Reis-effendi, which contained a firm and distinct refusal to concede the demands thus made by the Czar, but at the same time stating the Sultan's resolution to maintain the religious privileges of his Christian subjects. On the receipt of this reply the Russian minister reiterated his demand still more peremptorily than before, and allowed three additional days for the reply to it.

Various attempts to terminate the disagreeable state of things which thus existed, were, by means of conferences, now made, but to no purpose; and although a firman was issued to the Greek Patriarch, containing a solemn confirmation of all the privileges of his church, and the attention of the Russian minister was particularly directed to the terms of that document, which might have been sufficient to remove every ground of complaint, or at least to lead to pacific measures, this

was not sufficient to prevent that minister from leaving Constantinople, which he did, with all his suite, on the 22d of May. The chief point on which the final difference may be said to have occurred, was the demand in behalf of Russia of a protectorate over the Greek Christians in the Ottoman Empire. The refusal of the Sublime Porte to concede this authority to the Czar, and which would have been almost equivalent to an entire resignation of its sovereignty over a large majority of its European subjects, met with the approval of the principal European states, and particularly that of France and England, whose fleets having been ordered to the entrance of the Dardanelles, took up their position in Besika Bay in the middle of June.

A few days subsequently to the departure of the Russian minister, an official communication was made by the Ottoman government to the European powers who had been parties to the treaty of 1841. The Porte in this note renewed the assurance of its determination to maintain all the religious privileges already granted to the Christians; but it explained that the "sened" demanded by Russia was contrary to all the rights, and indeed to the independence of the government. This communication further declared, that since Prince Menschikoff quitted the imperial city, no assurance had been received by the Porte that the extensive preparations of a warlike character then carried on by Russia on the frontiers of the Ottoman Empire, would not result in war; and that in self defence the Porte found it requisite to give attention to the state of its fortresses, and other matters of a similar kind.

Redschid Pasha soon afterwards received an intimation from Count Nesselrode, that in a few weeks the Russian army would receive orders to cross the frontier, and demanding, in an imperative manner, that the Sultan's assent should be procured to the requirements of Russia, without alteration. To this demand Redschid Pasha returned a pacific reply, which, considering all the circumstances, reflected high credit on the Turkish government. All these efforts, however, failed to effect any reconciliation. Count Nesselrode issued two circulars, dated the 26th June and 2d July, which contained

a threat that hostile measures would be resorted to by the Emperor of Russia if his demands were not granted; and also included a justification of his contemplated measure of occupying the Principalities, not only in consequence of a refusal on the part of the Porte to accede to his wishes, but from the circumstance that the allied fleet had approached Constantinople.* These notes, however, were fully answered by the French minister for Foreign Affairs, who ably exposed the fallacies which they contained. Having issued his circulars, the Emperor of Russia did not long delay in carrying his threats into execution. A large army almost immediately crossed the Pruth, and took possession of the Danubian Principalities.

It would be difficult to describe the excitement which this decided step produced in Constantinople. The fanatical portion of the community were clamorous for immediate measures of the utmost violence. It was natural that their indignation should be directed against the Christian population; and so great was the alarm of that portion of the citizens, that it became requisite for a part of the combined fleet, consisting of two French and two British war steam-vessels, to pass the Dardanelles and anchor off Constantinople, to afford protection, if necessary, to the Christian inhabitants. At the same time the utmost efforts were made by the Porte to prepare for the approaching struggle. Troops were hastily procured from all the provinces of the empire, to be placed under the Seraskier, or commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, an officer of great military skill and experience.†

* Besika Bay, however, it ought to be remembered, is one hundred and forty miles from the capital.

† Omar Pasha was born in 1801 at Vlaski, in the circle of Ugolin, about thirteen leagues from Fiume. He is therefore by birth a Hungarian-Croat, and a subject of the Austrian empire. His family, named Luttas, was one of high respectability, his father being lieutenant-administrator of the circle of Ugolin, and his uncle a dignitary of the United Greek Church. His youth was spent in the School of Mathematics at Thurm, in Transylvania, whence he passed into the Austrian service. In his twenty-ninth year, in consequence of a quarrel, he quitted Austria and entered the Turkish service. Khosrou Pasha, the Seraskier, struck with his abilities, attached him to his personal staff, and gave him his ward, one of the richest heiresses in Constantinople, in marriage. We are informed by an English traveller, who has lived in the same tent,

The various conferences held by the European powers interested in the preservation of peace having proved nugatory, a grand council of the nation was assembled at Constantinople on the 27th of September, and after mature deliberation it was resolved that the terms already stated should be rigidly maintained, as the basis of any pacific arrangement of the existing differences with Russia; the resolution of this council was immediately afterwards confirmed by the fetva of the Muftee, and this confirmation virtually amounted to a de-

and frequently enjoyed the Pasha's hospitalities, that this lady is good evidence of what a Turkish woman of rank and education may become under the new system. She presides at the table and receives her husband's friends—is said to be an excellent pianiste and a good composer. In 1833, this Luttas, who had now taken the name of Omar, was chief of battalion, and was appointed aide-de-camp and interpreter to General Chrzanowski, who at that time had command of the Ottoman troops encamped near the capital. In the tent of this experienced Polish general, Omar obtained that insight into the best methods of organising crude material into military power which became to him a fortune. From that date he rose rapidly in the service, Khosrou Pasha being still his friend. But it was not until the troubles in Syria, and the insurrection in Albania, that he attracted much attention beyond the camp in which he served. Then he started into the importance of a public character. He was sent to Kurdistan, which province had, in a great measure, thrown off its allegiance, and he restored it to the Turkish crown. In 1848, he appeared for the first time as a conspicuous actor on the European stage; in that year he commanded the army sent into Moldo-Wallachia by the Sultan, when the Russian forces crossed the Pruth, and threatened the flank of the insurgent Hungarians. The temper and ability displayed by him in his critical position commanded general attention. Rising in the service, when the great Bosnian feudatories refused to admit the Tanzimat, and opposed its ameliorations—its equal laws for all races—by force of arms, he was sent against them; and after a most adroit and able campaign against the revolted Beys, he reduced them to submission, and firmly established the new code. This success placed him in the first rank of Turkish commanders, and marked him out for the greatest employments. In the following year, when Prince Daniel of Montenegro returned from St. Petersburg, and suddenly broke into the independent Turkish territory, Omar was sent against him; but before decisive operations had been commenced, the expedition was recalled through the menaces of Austria and an intrigue at Constantinople. We may add to this brief sketch of his career, that Omar Pasha took a deep interest in the Hungarian struggle—that as soon as the patriots took refuge on the right bank of the Danube, he rode to their head-quarters to offer condolence and good offices—and that in the subsequent difficulties which arose, he used his utmost influence with the Porte to save these illustrious exiles from the hands of the Austrian executioner.

claration of war. But that no undue precipitation might render the maintenance of peace impossible, the commander-in-chief was empowered to inform the Russian general, Prince Gortschakoff, that no hostilities would take place on the part of the Turkish force for fifteen days; the reply to this intimation was nevertheless of such a character that Omar immediately made arrangements to commence hostilities at the expiry of the stipulated period, and it was requested by the Sultan that the combined fleets would take up their position in the vicinity of Constantinople, a request which was at once acceded to. At this period, the Ottoman army in Bulgaria under the Seraskier, although nominally consisting of one hundred thousand men, was really but seventy thousand strong, and the Russian army in the Principalities, under Gortschakoff, was estimated at about eighty thousand.

Hostilities were commenced on the 23d of October. Two Russian steam-vessels, with eight gun-boats, attempted to force the passage of the Danube opposite the fortress of Isaktchi, and were fired upon by the Turks, and lost several men, among whom was a lieutenant-colonel and three other officers in the Russian service.

Early in November Omar Pasha effected the passage of the Danube at these points, in the neighbourhood of Giurgewo at Khalafat, and at Turtukai on the 4th, and defeated the Russian troops in the battle of Oltenitza, on the northern side of the Danube. The operations of the Ottoman commander will be more suitably described in his own bulletin:—

"The possession of the island situate in front of Turtukai having been considered indispensable, I had effected the passage of troops, and in the space of the night of the 1st managed to raise tolerably strong fortifications. On the following day, the 2d, two battalions of infantry, three pieces of cannon, and a hundred of the mounted police, were conveyed in large boats to the locality, with ammunition, provisions, and great coats.

"They had scarcely landed, when from the batteries of Turtukai we opened a fire on the lazaretto situate on the left bank. After the first discharge, the Russians quitted this posi-

tion, and the imperial troops took possession of the building, which is of solid construction, with vaulted chambers. Without loss of time four hundred workmen, under the direction of staff-officers, commenced raising fortifications, for which purpose two thousand gabions had been already prepared. On the 3d, again, other troops were sent to fortify the *tête de pont*.

"As soon as the imperial troops had landed on the left bank of the river, the Russians, quartered in a large village, at about an hour's distance, turned round, and began to retreat. A body of cavalry was despatched to reconnoitre, and having encountered at Oltenitza an outpost of Cossack cavalry, they killed five, and rejoined our lines with a loss of three men. We found at Touzla, on the left bank, a great number of boats, which were sent to Turtukai.

"The number of boats at our disposal having facilitated the construction of the bridge, we were enabled without delay to place in the fortifications twelve large guns, which were brought from Schumla.

"On the third, at four P.M., three battalions of Russian infantry, with eight cannons, a regiment of cavalry, and a party of Cossacks, entered the village of Oltenitza. Our troops, posted within the works constructed on the left bank, awaited them with firmness. This same night I caused a bridge to be constructed at the conflux of the Argisch and Danube, and flanked it with redoubts.

"Yesterday, Nov. 4, at six A.M., we began to perceive the movement of the Russian forces. As soon as their march was well defined, I caused a reinforcement of one battalion to be embarked and conveyed to the lazaretto. The evening before I had placed on even ground a battery of guns calculated to check any attack which might be made. The Russian forces amounted to twenty battalions, three regiments of cavalry, one of Cossacks, sixteen mounted batteries, and sixteen on foot. They formed in order of battle, with fourteen pieces of cannon in the rear of twelve battalions, and the regiment of Cossacks in lines beyond the reach of our guns, and fronting the centre of our works. They advanced, supported by the fire of their artillery, and at the same time two bat-

talions, with two cannons, came on, threatening our left flank. Having commenced the assault, another stronger division—consisting of six battalions, with four cannons, and having in the rear three regiments of cavalry supporting and outstripping their left flank—took its position and formed in two lines with artillery, horse, and foot, in *echelon*, attacking our right flank. After an exchange of some cannon shots, the centre gave the assault, whereon they charged both our wings. The centre attacked three different times, and each with a fresh battalion,—twice on the left, and once on the right.

"A well-directed fire from our fortress at Turtukai soon dispersed their right column, and the centre gradually fell back, after having suffered severely, and half its numbers being disabled. The battery of the island, also mounted with powerful guns, and commanded by Khalid Pasha, did admirable execution on the enemy's right wing. The Russians advanced with coolness and resolution almost to the brink of the trench, and on this account their loss was considerable, amounting to a thousand men killed, and double the number wounded.

"The engagement lasted four hours, from noon till four P.M. During this interval the waggons never ceased carrying off their dead, and twenty were observed heavily laden even after the conflict. With a view of facilitating this duty, as long as it lasted, we abstained from molesting the enemy and from firing a single shot, but found, nevertheless, eight hundred bodies on the field. A private carriage, moreover, was remarked; and, from the pains taken in the search, we conjecture it must have been destined to receive the body of a general officer.

"At five P.M., a total confusion ensued in the Russian ranks; their lines were completely broken and their retreat was precipitate. An hour later some few rallied in the neighbouring villages, but the remainder fled in disorder. Some of our men pushed forward in pursuit of them beyond the lines, but were summoned back by trumpet to their own quarters.

"Our loss amounted to one hundred and six men. We found

on the field of battle five hundred muskets, *sacs*, cartridge-boxes, equipments, &c. "OMAR."

From communications received by the French government from their ambassador at St. Petersburg, it was clearly understood that the Czar "satisfied with that which he considered as a pledge, would not anywhere take the offensive in a conflict which had commenced so unfortunately for Turkey."* The attack on the fort of Isaktchi may be considered as a violation of the understanding to which the representations of the Russian government gave origin. But a proceeding took place not long afterwards on the part of the Russians which was not only a breach of faith, but an act of extreme atrocity.

On the 13th of November, a Turkish flotilla, consisting of seven frigates (one of sixty guns), three corvettes, and two steamers, anchored in the Bay of Sinope. On the 21st, a Russian squadron of three two-deckers, a frigate, and a brig, stood in for Sinope, and after reconnoitering the Turkish position, cruized off the harbour, maintaining the blockade in spite of very hazy weather. It was suggested to Osman Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, that as an action would be unavoidable, the best course would be to force the blockade, and make a running fight of it; but, not contemplating any reinforcement of the Russians, he unfortunately rejected the advice of his subordinates, upon the consideration of some of his vessels having been damaged in a recent gale, and on the probability of a successful result if the action were fought at anchor. On the forenoon of the 30th, a large Russian squadron, composed of three three-deckers, and three two-deckers, under the command of Vice-Admiral Nachimoff, having also the flag of a rear-admiral, stood in for the bay under full sail before the wind, and took up a position close alongside the Turkish ships, the latter not firing upon them while doing so. Two frigates and three steamers remained outside to cut off the retreat of any Turkish vessel attempting to escape. Osman Pasha forthwith signalled his fleet to fight

* Circular by the French minister for foreign affairs, dated at Paris, 30th December 1853.

bravely to the last in defence of their country, and at noon a desperate action commenced. For upwards of an hour and a half, the Turkish frigates resisted these fearful odds without flinching. The first of their losses was the Navick frigate, whose captain, Ali Bey, a man of distinguished valour, being menaced with boarding by a huge three-decker, and having abandoned all hope of successful resistance, blew up his vessel. At the end of the above period, the destruction of the Turkish force was complete. Some of the ships were burnt by the enemy's red-hot shot; some blew up; and the others, whose sides were literally beaten in by the enormous weight of the Russian metal, slipped their cables, and, with the exception of two, drifted on shore. The Russians now manned their yards and cheered in honour of their bloody victory. Having done this, they immediately recommenced firing upon the helpless wrecks, from which a feeble dropping fire was still maintained with unequalled fortitude, and did not cease until they had completed the work of destruction and butchery. They then took possession of the two vessels which had not gone on shore, but from their battered condition, abandoned and destroyed them the following day. One of the Turkish steamers, the Taif, alone escaped. She had slipped her cables shortly after the commencement of the battle, and after forcing her way at some risk through the force cruising outside, brought the first intimation of this fatal event to Constantinople. Before the action commenced, the Turkish crews numbered fourteen hundred and ninety men; of these three hundred and fifty-eight have survived, the others having been slain to a man at their posts. Most of the survivors are wounded; among them are a hundred and twenty prisoners, who were taken by the Russians on board the frigates abandoned by them, and who have been carried off to Sebastopol. Osman Pasha, the commander-in-chief, who was wounded in the action, is among the prisoners. Hussein Pasha, the second in command, while trying to escape from his burning vessel, was struck by a grapeshot on the head and killed. The loss on the Russian side is not accurately known, as they retired immediately after the battle; but four of their ships were disabled in their spars, and were

towed out by steamers. The support afforded to the Turks by the land batteries was ineffectual, owing partly to the lightness of their guns, and partly to their fire being intercepted by the Turkish ships. The town of Sinope was completely destroyed, either by shells or burning timbers, and the whole coast strewn with dead bodies. A few survivors made their way by swimming to the town, but such was the consternation among the local authorities, that all action on their part was paralysed, and they could scarcely find means even to procure food or medical assistance for the sufferers. These latter found speedy alleviation at the hands of the medical officers brought by her Majesty's steamer Retribution, and the French steamer Mogadore, who were zealously assisted by three of the survivors, surgeons on board the Turkish fleet.*

Immediately after this disastrous occurrence, orders were issued by the English and French governments that their fleets should enter the Black Sea, to afford protection to the vessels and the coast of Turkey. An English frigate was at the same time despatched to Sebastopol with a declaration that no further attacks on the Turks would be permitted, but that no hostile measures would be taken against Russian vessels except in self-defence. Reinforcements were at the same time sent to Batoum, under the protection of the combined fleet, for the army in Asia.

While these occurrences were taking place, the belligerents were actively engaged in the European portion of the Sultan's territories, and in the eastern division of the empire. Early in November, the Sultan's army advanced to Alexandropol in Georgia. Their attack, however, on that fortress, was unsuccessful. They were repulsed by Prince Beboutoff, both before that fortress, and subsequently near Kars, with con-

* From the above account, it is evident that the Turks fought with great valour. Ali Bey, the commander of the Navick, seeing that his ship could not stand against the three-decker opposed to him, ordered her to be blown up; but not feeling certain of the execution of that order, he himself threw the lightest match into the powder magazine! In 1850 Ali Bey conveyed the Legione Monti (who were returning to Italy, having taken part in the war in Hungary) from Constantinople to Genoa and Cagliari, on board the frigate Illat, for which service the King of Sardinia presented him with the cross of St. Maurice and Lazarus.

siderable loss; and in an attempt to take the fortress of Akalzikh, they were no less unfortunate, having been attacked and defeated by the Russian General Andronnikoff. The loss of the Turks in these two engagements amounted to two thousand men slain, and about double that number wounded. On the other hand, the Ottoman forces succeeded in repulsing the Russians in their attempt to land an army of eighteen thousand men at Fort St. Nicholas or Chevketil. Upon the whole, however, the advantages of the Asiatic campaign seemed to lean towards the side of Russia.

On the Danube, the operations of the hostile armies continued to be prosecuted with undiminished vigour. Early in January in the present year, General Aurep marched from Bucharest with twenty-two thousand men against the Ottoman force at Kalafat. The contest was begun on the 6th of the month by the Sultan's troops, who attacked the village of Citate, near Kalafat. A severe and protracted struggle ensued, and the assailants succeeded in gaining the village, but were attacked by a reinforcement of ten thousand Russians. The struggle was maintained for several days in succession, the forces engaged on each side amounting to about eighteen thousand men. This engagement, however, produced no decisive results. According to the account of the Ottoman commander-in-chief, the Turks lost three hundred killed and seven hundred wounded; but of the Russians no less than three thousand were slain, among whom were several officers of rank.

The interference on the part of the British and French nations in the dispute between Russia and Turkey could hardly fail to bring matters to a crisis. The Russian ambassadors in London and Paris having demanded explanations as to the entry of the combined fleet into the Black Sea, and considering the explanations received to be unsatisfactory, withdrew from their respective missions—Baron Brunow having quitted London on the 8th, and M. Kisseleff having left Paris on the 6th of February. The British and French ministers, Sir H. Seymour and General Castelbajac, at the Court of St. Petersburg, were immediately ordered in like manner to withdraw from their posts. All expectations of

a pacific termination of the ominous dispute were, however, by no means entirely abandoned, although little hope could now be entertained of so desirable a consummation. The Emperor Nicholas himself, although declining the terms offered by the conference of Vienna, proposed other terms, the basis of which was a request that an ambassador from the Sultan should proceed to St. Petersburg, to advise with the representatives of the four powers as to the termination of the dispute. The demand was also renewed by Prince Menschikoff of an arrangement by which the Sultan should refuse to grant an asylum to political refugees. It was considered, however, both by France and Britain, that such proposals could not be made to the Ottoman government. The Emperor of France also addressed an autograph letter to the Czar, containing many expressions of a pacific character, and offering to recal his fleet from the Black Sea on the evacuation by the Russian forces of the Principalities.

It soon appeared, however, that all efforts to preserve peace were vain, and the allies of the Sultan prepared to enforce their demands on Russia by an appeal to arms. Towards the close of the month of February, a formal summons was despatched to St. Petersburg, calling upon the Czar to evacuate the Danubian Principalities by the end of April, and requiring a direct reply within six days. To this summons Count Nesselrode informed the consuls of the two nations that no attention would be given. The consequence of this procedure was an immediate declaration of war by France and England, followed up by the most energetic efforts to send an adequate force to aid the Sultan against his powerful and unscrupulous enemy.* Various arrangements were likewise entered into likely to contribute to the result which the friends of Turkey were desirous to accomplish. A protocol was signed at Vienna on the 9th of April between England,

* The following is the declaration of war which appeared in the London Gazette of 28th of March. It exhibits a clear and concise view of the events which preceded the rupture between this country and Russia:—

"It is with deep regret that her Majesty announces the failure of her anxious and protracted endeavours to preserve for her people and for Europe the blessings of peace.

France, Austria, and Prussia, in which the two latter powers declared their agreement in the opinion of the two former on

The unprovoked aggression of the Emperor of Russia against the Sublime Porte has been persisted in with such disregard of consequences, that, after the rejection by the Emperor of Russia of terms which the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Prussia, as well as her Majesty, consider just and equitable, her Majesty is compelled, by a sense of what is due to the honour of her Crown, to the interests of her people, and to the independence of the States of Europe, to come forward in defence of an ally whose territory is invaded, and whose dignity and independence are assailed.

Her Majesty, in justification of the course she is about to pursue, refers to the transactions in which her Majesty has been engaged.

The Emperor of Russia had some cause of complaint against the Sultan with reference to the settlements which his Highness had sanctioned, of the conflicting claims of the Greek and Latin Churches to a portion of the Holy Places of Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. To the complaint of the Emperor of Russia on this head justice was done; and her Majesty's Ambassador at Constantinople had the satisfaction of promoting an arrangement to which no exception was taken by the Russian Government.

But while the Russian Government repeatedly assured the Government of her Majesty that the mission of Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople was exclusively directed to the settlement of the question of the Holy Places at Jerusalem, Prince Menschikoff himself pressed upon the Porte other demands of a far more serious and important character, the nature of which he, in the first instance, endeavoured, as far as possible, to conceal from her Majesty's Ambassador. And these demands, thus studiously concealed, affected not the privileges of the Greek Church at Jerusalem, but the position of many millions of Turkish subjects in their relations to their Sovereign the Sultan.

These demands were rejected by the spontaneous decision of the Sublime Porte.

Two assurances had been given to her Majesty: one that the mission of Prince Menschikoff only regarded the Holy Places; the other, that his mission would be of a conciliatory character.

In both respects her Majesty's just expectations were disappointed.

Demands were made, which in the opinion of the Sultan, extended to the substitution of the Emperor of Russia's authority for his own, over a large portion of his subjects; and those demands were enforced by a threat; and when her Majesty learnt that, on announcing the termination of his mission, Prince Menschikoff declared that the refusal of his demands would impose upon the Imperial Government the necessity of seeking a guarantee by its own power, her Majesty thought proper that her fleet should leave Malta, and, in co-operation with that of his Majesty the Emperor of the French, take up its station in the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles.

So long as the negociation bore an amicable character, her Majesty refrained from any demonstration of force. But when, in addition to the

the Eastern question; and on the day following a convention was signed in London by Lord Clarendon and Count Wa-

assemblage of large military forces on the frontier of Turkey, the ambassador of Russia intimated that serious consequences would ensue from the refusal of the Sultan to comply with unwarrantable demands, her Majesty deemed it right, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, to give an unquestionable proof of her determination to support the sovereign rights of the Sultan.

The Russian Government has maintained that the determination of the Emperor to occupy the Principalities was taken in consequence of the advance of the fleets of England and France. But the menace of invasion of the Turkish territory was conveyed in Count Nesselrode's note to Reschid Pasha of the 19th (31st) May, and re-stated in his despatch to Baron Brunnow of the 20th May (1st June), which announced the determination of the Emperor of Russia to order his troops to occupy the Principalities if the Porte did not within a week comply with the demands of Russia.

The despatch to her Majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, authorising him in certain specified contingencies to send for the British fleet, was dated the 31st May, and the order sent direct from England to her Majesty's Admiral to proceed to the neighbourhood of the Dardanelles, was dated the 2d of June.

The determination to occupy the Principalities was, therefore, taken before the orders for the advance of the combined squadrons were given.

The Sultan's minister was informed that unless he signed within a week, and without the change of a word, the note proposed to the Porte by Prince Menschikoff on the eve of his departure from Constantinople, the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia would be occupied by Russian troops. The Sultan could not accede to so insulting a demand; but when the actual occupation of the Principalities took place, the Sultan did not, as he might have done in the exercise of his undoubted right, declare war, but addressed a protest to his allies.

Her Majesty, in conjunction with the sovereigns of Austria, France, and Prussia, has made various attempts to meet any just demands of the Emperor of Russia, without affecting the dignity or independence of the Sultan; and had it been the sole object of Russia to obtain security for the enjoyment of the Christian subjects of the Porte of their privileges and immunities, she would have found it in the offers that have been made by the Sultan. But as that security was not offered in the shape of a special and separate stipulation with Russia, it was rejected. Twice has this offer been made by the Sultan, and recommended by the Four Powers: once by a note originally prepared at Vienna, and subsequently modified by the Porte; once by the proposal of bases of negotiation agreed upon at Constantinople on the 31st of December, and approved at Vienna on the 13th of January, as offering to the two parties the means of arriving at an understanding in a becoming and honourable manner.

It is thus manifest that a right for Russia to interfere in the ordinary relations of Turkish subjects to their sovereign, and not the happiness of Christian communities in Turkey, was the object sought for by the

lewski, by which their respective governments became bound to free the dominions of the Sultan from the Russian forces—to entertain no overtures for peace unless in concert with each other, and to renounce all personal advantages from the war. A treaty was also concluded between the sovereigns of Turkey, France, and England, containing the following particulars :—

Art. 1. Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, having already, at the request of his Highness the Sultan, given orders to strong divisions of their naval forces to repair to Constantinople to protect the territory and the flag of the Sublime Ottoman Porte as circumstances should require, their said Majesties engaged by this present treaty to co-operate to a still wider extent with his Highness the Sultan in the defence of the Ottoman territory in Europe and Asia against the Russian attack, by supplying such a number of their land forces as may seem necessary for attaining this object. Their Royal and Imperial Majesties will despatch forthwith these land troops to such point or points

Russian Government. To such a demand the Sultan would not submit, and his Highness, in self-defence, declared war upon Russia; but her Majesty, nevertheless, in conjunction with her allies, has not ceased her endeavours to restore peace between the contending parties.

The time has, however, now arrived when the advice and remonstrances of the Four Powers having proved wholly ineffectual, and the military preparations of Russia becoming daily more extended, it is but too obvious that the Emperor of Russia has entered into a course of policy, which, if unchecked, must lead to the destruction of the Ottoman Empire.

In this conjuncture her Majesty feels called upon by regard for an ally, the integrity and independence of whose empire have been recognised as essential to the peace of Europe, by the sympathies of her people with right against wrong, by a desire to avert from her dominions most injurious consequences, and to save Europe from the preponderance of a power which has violated the faith of treaties, and defies the opinion of the civilised world, to take up arms in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, in defence of the Sultan.

Her Majesty is persuaded that in so acting she will have the cordial support of her people, and that the pretext of zeal for the Christian religion will be used in vain to cover an aggression undertaken in disregard of its holy precepts, and of its pure and beneficent spirit.

Her Majesty humbly trusts that her efforts may be successful, and that, by the blessing of Providence, peace may be re-established on safe and solid foundations.—*Westminster, March* 28, 1854.

of the Ottoman territory that shall appear eligible; and his Highness the Sultan engages that the British and French land troops which shall be sent in suchwise for the defence of the Ottoman territory, shall meet with the same friendly reception, and be treated with the same consideration, as the British and French naval forces that have been sojourning for some time past in Turkish waters.

Art. 2. The high contracting parties collectively engage to communicate mutually to each other, without loss of time, every and any proposition that may be received by them, directly or indirectly, on the part of the Emperor of Russia, respecting the cessation of hostilities, whether a truce or peace; and his Highness the Sultan engages moreover to conclude no armistice, and to enter into no negotiations for peace, as likewise to entertain no preliminaries of peace with the Emperor of Russia, without the knowledge and consent of the remaining high contracting parties.

Art. 3. So soon as the object of the present treaty shall have been obtained by the conclusion of a treaty of peace, her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Majesty the Emperor of the French, shall forthwith adopt measures for the prompt withdrawal of their forces by land and sea, such as shall have been employed for attaining the object of the present treaty, and all the fortresses or positions on the Ottoman territory that shall have been provisionally occupied by the forces of England and France, shall be restored to the authorities of the Sublime Ottoman Porte within * * * days, to be reckoned from the exchanges of the ratifications of the treaty by which the present war shall have been ended.

In correspondence with this agreement, a large land force has been despatched from England and France to co-operate with the Sultan's army, while the combined fleets have taken possession of the Black Sea.

Meantime the hostile operations of the Russians were continued with increasing activity at the seat of war. The forces of the Czar on the 23d of March crossed the Danube at three different points, opposite Brahilow, Galatz, and Ismail, and succeeded in occupying the district of the Dobrudscha with

less sacrifice than circumstances seemed to have rendered probable. The fortresses of that district soon fell into their possession, and it became obvious that it was the intention of the enemy to attack Silistria, a city which, as formerly observed, occupies a position so important that its reduction is absolutely requisite to any extended operations of a hostile force between the Danube and the Balkans. The Russians had already abandoned several minor posts on the Circassian shores of the Black Sea, and had transferred their garrisons to strengthen the fortress of Sebastopol.

Early in April Field-Marshal Prince Paskewitch, an officer of distinguished celebrity, and second to none in Europe in military skill and experience, arrived at Bucharest as commander-in-chief of the Russian forces, Prince Gortschakoff remaining as second in command. Towards the close of the same month, Lord Raglan, the commander-in-chief of the English forces, arrived in Constantinople; the French commander-in-chief, Marshal St. Arnaud, soon afterwards landed at Gallipoli.

A few sentences will suffice to convey a description of the relative strength and position of the two hostile armies on the Danube. The Russian force consisted of about a hundred and eighty thousand men, and in addition, a large army of reserve, part of which, however, was beyond the Pruth. The line of operation of the Russian army extended over a space of about two hundred miles, from the Aluta to the mouths of the Danube. The right wing occupied the left bank of the Aluta, with a reserve force at Pilesti, a town about sixty miles to the north-west of Bucharest. The centre extended from Giurgewo, opposite Rutschuk, to Kalarasch and Rassova, on the left bank of the Danube, with its reserve at Bucharest, at the distance of thirty-nine miles from that river. The left wing extended from Rassova over the territory of the Dobrudscha, communicating by Odessa with the troops of General Osten-Sacken, and having its reserve at Matschin. The army of the Sultan, amounting to about a hundred and forty thousand men, occupied a space of still greater extent. The left wing of that force occupied the right bank of the Aluta, having its head quarters at Slatina, and its reserve at Kra-

jova. The centre was opposite to the Russian forces between Nicopolis and Silistria, and holding possession of the strong positions of Rutschuk, Turtukai, and Silistria, with a reserve stationed at Schumla. The right wing occupied the line of Trajan's Wall from the Danube to the coast, with its reserve at Bazardjick and Varna. The English troops at Varna constituted an important addition to the right wing of the Ottoman army, while the French force which proceeded to Hadrianople formed a no less powerful auxiliary in defence of the centre and the passes of the Balkans.

It now remains briefly to refer to the chief events which have taken place within the last three months, and which may be said to constitute the first act of this great military drama.

On the 7th of April an English steamer, the Furious, having proceeded to Odessa to receive the British Consul, and such of the English as were about to quit the Russian territories, the boat containing their flag of truce on returning from the shore was fired upon by the Russian batteries, in direct violation of the laws of war among civilized nations. On being made aware of this outrage, the French and English admirals despatched a part of the combined fleets to exact a suitable reparation. No reply to their demand being given, they, on the 22d, opened fire upon the imperial fort of Odessa, carefully abstaining from doing any damage to the city and the merchant ships in the harbour. The action commenced at half-past six in the morning and continued till five in the evening, by which time the forts were destroyed, the magazine blown up, and many of the Russian vessels sunk or burnt.

This event was soon after followed by the loss of one of the British ships under circumstances much to be regretted. The Tiger steam-ship, while in pursuit of a Russian vessel, ran aground upon a sandbank three miles from Odessa. It was found impossible to rescue her from her perilous situation, and the Russians having brought a battery to the shore, fired upon her with red hot balls, and soon completely disabled her. The position of the ship rendered it impossible for her effectually to return the fire of the enemy. The crew were taken prisoners, one of the midshipmen was killed, and the captain who had been severely injured, afterwards died of his

wounds. The consequences of the war between Turkey and her powerful neighbour soon became manifest in the southern provinces of the empire. During the war of 1828-9, the revolutionary spirit which led to the independence of the Morea, had been strongly manifested in various parts of the empire. The troops of Russia, as they marched toward Hadrianople, had, as already stated, met with a reception from the Christian subjects of the Porte, which unequivocally demonstrated the favourable light in which they regarded the invaders, and the severity immediately exercised by Sultan Mahmoud, no less clearly indicated the impression which the Turkish government had as to the dangers to be apprehended from the disaffection of the Greeks. It was not to be expected that the present condition of affairs could occur without a similar demonstration. Accordingly, in Thessaly and Epirus, the revolutionary spirit has been awakened into extreme activity. A proclamation was issued, calling on all the Greek subjects of the Porte to arm themselves and cast off the yoke of their oppressors, and great numbers obeyed the summons with the utmost alacrity. There cannot be a doubt that the movement was encouraged by the influence of Russia, excited not only directly, but through the court of King Otho, many of whose officers and employés crossed the frontiers to join the revolutionists, and aid them in their undertakings. Several sanguinary conflicts occurred between the insurgents and the Ottoman troops, in which no decisive advantage was gained by the latter. The participation of the Greek court in the movement, led to a demand by the Porte that the encouragement given to the insurgents should be discontinued, and the reply being unsatisfactory, all communication between the two governments was suspended. The English and French authorities found it requisite not only to require that the King of Greece should cease to countenance the rebellion, but to take active measures to support the Sultan in his efforts to restore tranquillity. By such measures, and others still more stringent, the insurrection has been effectually checked, although not without much suffering inflicted upon those who engaged in the hopeless undertaking.

While such occurrences were taking place in the southern portion of the empire, the belligerents were actively engaged

on the shores of the Danube, as well as in Asia. In the end of April a detachment of Turkish troops crossed the Danube from Nicopolis, and defeated the Russians, who lost about a thousand men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. On the 10th of May a Turkish force of fifteen hundred men again crossed the river near Giurgewo, and destroyed some of the Russian batteries. Two days afterwards, an engagement took place near Oltenitza, in which the Turkish force was repulsed with considerable loss. Several other minor actions occurred at various points without any decisive results. It soon became obvious, however, that the Russians had resolved to reduce Silistria, a fortress the possession of which was of the utmost importance to the success of the campaign. Field-Marshal Paskewitch having offered terms to the governor, Mussa Pasha, which that officer refused to listen to, the most energetic efforts were made by the Russians to take the fortress, a measure which the approach of the allies rendered it requisite for them, if possible, speedily to effect. Having invested the fortress, the Russians made repeated attacks upon it from the 11th of May to the 16th of June, during which the Turks maintained the high reputation which they have long possessed for the art of defending fortifications. On the 29th of May the bombardment of the fortress was succeeded by an assault by the besiegers in great force, who were repulsed with the loss of fifteen hundred men, among whom were Lieutenant-General Sylvan and the younger Count Orloff. On the following morning, at the early hour of four, the Turkish garrison issued from the fortress, and a frightful massacre ensued among the enemy, the Turks having at the same time succeeded in spiking many of their guns. Several assaults succeeded, which were conducted with the most determined valour, but were all disastrous to the assailants. On one occasion, in particular, after three mines had been sprung near the walls of the fortress, the Russians, who had prepared to mount the expected breach, found themselves unexpectedly attacked by the besieged. The most fearful carnage was the consequence. Prince Paskewitch had already been wounded, and had been removed towards Yassy; but on this occasion his successor in the chief command, Prince Gortschakoff, was likewise wounded, together with several officers of rank, among whom

was General Schilders, who soon afterwards died. The works of the besiegers were completely destroyed, together with a vast number of men. This exploit was performed by the Turks on the 13th of June. On the same day a reinforcement entered Silistria from Schumla. Two days afterwards, the Ottoman commander, resolving to take advantage of the defeat of the assailants before they could have time to recover it, ordered a general sortie of the garrison to be made. The success of the manœuvre was complete. A large portion of the Russian troops were driven across the Danube; and those on the east and west of the town, finding it hopeless to attempt to keep their ground, began their retreat; and on the following day, the 16th, the siege was at an end. When it is remembered that the Russian force at Silistria was about eighty thousand men, and that the garrison was comparatively small —less than the fourth of their assailants—and that not only did the Turks defend their fortress for more than a month, notwithstanding all the means which their assailants' highest military ingenuity could suggest, or his most determined valour accomplish, but that they themselves frequently became the assailants, and at last, without aid from their allies, succeeded in totally defeating their enemies, and actually driving them from before the fortress, which a few weeks before they confidently reckoned on reducing—it cannot but be admitted that the soldiers of the Sultan have wiped away the reproach, and disproved the charge of degeneracy, which arose from their frequent defeats, not only in the time of Catherine II., but in the war of 1828-29; and that they have in the defence of Silistria achieved a triumph, the very prestige of which must be of the highest possible importance in the present struggle with Russia. In a word, the gallantry of the Turkish army, with the aid of their powerful allies, must, unless the most culpable supineness be exhibited, operate as an effectual and permanent check to the ambitious projects of the Court of St. Petersburg.

The Russian forces retreated from before Silistria in time to escape the allied troops, who would speedily have converted their disasters on the Danube into a total and irremediable

defeat, and the probability is, that they will soon evacuate the Principalities, in consequence, in a considerable degree, of the desire expressed by Prussia and Austria, and the provisions of a convention entered into between Turkey and the latter power a few days before the final repulse of the Russian forces at Silistria. The insurrection among the Greek population of the Turkish Empire, which it is scarcely possible to avoid believing was encouraged and fomented by Russia, has been already in a great measure quelled, and the discomfiture of the forces of the Czar will, with the aid of the allies, bring it to a complete termination. The King of Greece has been compelled to accept the ultimatum addressed to him by the Western Powers, and his new ministry, under the presidency of M. Mavrocordato, gives sufficient security that the desires of the allies of the Porte will be duly respected.

It is idle to indulge in speculation as to the future course of events, but it may be safely affirmed that occurrences of the highest importance are likely to mark the annals of the campaign now in progress. It is extremely improbable that either of the allies of Turkey will make peace on such easy terms as were offered to the Czar before they engaged in the war. Even if the British government should be inclined to recal its army and fleet merely upon the evacuation of the principalities, it may be taken for granted, that to this France will not agree. And it is to be hoped that both governments will see it to be their true policy not to lay down their arms until such terms are exacted from the enemy, as shall place the affairs of the East on a secure basis, and afford a reasonable expectation that the peace and civilization of Europe shall not be interrupted. If such a result be obtained, and the proceedings of the Sultan be, as heretofore, directed towards the advancement of the civil, religious, and mercantile interests of his people, it requires no gift of prophecy to predict, that the present war may, under divine providence, result in great advantages to the dominions of the Sultan, and may further in a remarkable degree, the cause, not only of civil and religious liberty, but that of true religion in Europe.

APPENDIX.

No. I.—*Treaty of Perpetual Peace and Friendship, between the Empire of Russia and the Ottoman Porte, concluded on the* 10*th of July* 1774, *in the tent of the Commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Count de Roumanzow, near the village of Kutschouc-Kainardji, upon the right bank of the Danube, by the Plenipotentiaries named by him and the Grand Vizier; confirmed by the two Chiefs on the* 15*th of the same month, and approved and ratified by His Highness at Constantinople on the* 10*th of January* 1775.*

In the name of Almighty God.

THE Sovereigns of the two belligerent Empires, that of all the Russias and that of the Ottoman Porte, mutually wishing and desiring to put an end to the war which has lasted up to the present time between the two States, and to succeed in re-establishing peace by means of persons of confidence respectively empowered for that purpose, have nominated and furnished with their effective full powers for negotiating, agreeing upon, concluding, and signing the Treaty of Peace between the two high Empires, viz., Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias, Count Peter de Roumanzow, Field-Marshal General, Commander of her army, Governor-General of Little Russia, President of the College of Little Russia, and Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. George, St. Alexander Newski, and St. Anne; and his Highness the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte, Mousson Zadé Mechmet Bacha.

In consequence, these two Commanders of the armies, the Field-Marshal Count Peter de Roumanzow and the Grand Vizier Mousson

* From an impression published in French at St. Petersburgh, 1776.

Zadé Mechmet Bacha, in order to conform to the wishes of their Courts, have devoted all their attention to this matter, and the Plenipotentiaries, Nischandgi Resmi Achmet Effendi and Ibraim Munib Reis Effendi, sent, on the 5th of July 1774, by the Grand Vizier on the part of the Sublime Porte, have, conjointly with the Plenipotentiary named by the said Field-Marshal, the Prince Nicholas Repnin, Lieutenant-General, Knight of the Order of St. George, of the Grand Cross, of St. Alexander Newski, of the White Eagle of Poland, &c., of St. Anne of Holstein, drawn up, agreed upon, concluded, signed, and sealed with the seal of their coat-of-arms, in presence of Field-Marshal General Count de Roumanzow, in his tent, the following Articles of the perpetual peace, between the Empire of all the Russias and the Ottoman Porte:

Art. I. From the present time all the hostilities and enmities which have hitherto prevailed shall cease for ever, and all hostile acts and enterprises committed on either side, whether by force of arms or in any other manner, shall be buried in an eternal oblivion, without vengeance being taken for them in any way whatever; but, on the contrary, there shall always be a perpetual, constant, and inviolable peace, as well by sea as by land. In like manner there shall be cultivated between the two High Contracting Parties, Her Majesty the Empress of all the Russias and His Highness, their successors and heirs, as well as between the two Empires, their states, territories, subjects, and inhabitants, a sincere union and a perpetual and inviolable friendship, with a careful accomplishment and maintenance of these Articles; so that neither of the two Parties shall, in future, undertake with respect to the other any hostile act or design whatsoever, either secretly or openly. And in consequence of the renewal of so sincere a friendship, the two Contracting Parties grant respectively an amnesty and general pardon to all such of their subjects, without distinction, who may have been guilty of any crime against one or other of the two Parties; delivering and setting at liberty those who are in the gallies or in prison; permitting all banished persons or exiles to return home, and promising to restore to them, after the peace, all the honours and property which they before enjoyed, and not to subject them, nor allow others to subject them, with impunity, to any insult, loss, or injury, under any pretext whatsoever; but that each and every of them may live under the safeguard and protection of the laws and customs of his native country in the same manner as his native fellow-countrymen.

II. If, after the conclusion of the Treaty and the exchange of the ratifications, any subjects of the two Empires having committed any capital offence, or having been guilty of disobedience or of treason, should endeavour to conceal themselves, or seek an asylum in the territories of one of the two Powers, they must not be received or sheltered there under any pretext, but must be immediately delivered up, or at least expelled, from the States of the Power whither they had escaped, in order that, on account of such criminals, there should not arise any coolness or useless dispute between the two Empires, with the exception, however, of those who, in the Empire of Russia, shall have embraced the Christian religion, and, in the Ottoman Empire, the Mahometan religion. In like manner, should any subjects of the two Empires, whether Christians or Mahometans, having committed any crime or offence, or for any reason whatsoever, pass from one Empire into the other, they shall be immediately delivered up, so soon as a requisition to that effect is made.

III. All the Tartar peoples—those of the Crimea, of the Budjiac, of the Kuban, the Edissans, Geambouiluks and Editschkuls—shall, without any exception, be acknowledged by the two Empires as free nations, and entirely independent of every foreign Power, governed by their own Sovereign, of the race of Ghengis Khan, elected and raised to the throne by all the Tartar peoples; which Sovereign shall govern them according to their ancient laws and usages, being responsible to no foreign Power whatsoever; for which reason, neither the Court of Russia nor the Ottoman Porte shall interfere, under any pretext whatever, with the election of the said Khan, or in the domestic, political, civil, and internal affairs of the same; but, on the contrary, they shall acknowledge and consider the said Tartar nation, in its political and civil state, upon the same footing as the other Powers who are governed by themselves, and are dependent upon God alone. As to the ceremonies of religion, as the Tartars profess the same faith as the Mahometans, they shall regulate themselves, with respect to His Highness, in his capacity of Grand Caliph of Mahometanism, according to the precepts prescribed to them by their law, without compromising, nevertheless, the stability of their political and civil liberty. Russia leaves to this Tartar nation, with the exception of the fortresses of Kertsch and Jenicale (with their districts and ports, which Russia retains for herself), all the towns, fortresses, dwellings, territories, and ports which it has conquered in

Crimea and in Kuban; the country situated between the rivers Berda, Konskie, Vodi, and the Dnieper, as well as all that situated as far as the frontier of Poland between the Boug and the Dniester, excepting the fortress of Oczakow, with its ancient territory, which shall belong, as heretofore, to the Sublime Porte; and it promises to withdraw its troops from their possessions immediately after the conclusion and exchange of the Treaty of Peace. The Sublime Ottoman Porte engages, in like manner, on its part, to abandon all right whatsoever which it might have over the fortresses, towns, habitations, &c., in Crimea, in Kuban, and in the Island of Taman; to maintain in those places no garrison nor other armed forces, ceding these States to the Tartars in the same manner as the Court of Russia has done, that is to say, in full power and in absolute and independent sovereignty. In like manner the Sublime Porte engages, in the most solemn manner, and promises neither to introduce nor maintain, in future, any garrison or armed forces whatsoever in the above-mentioned towns, fortresses, lands, and habitations, nor, in the interior of those States, any intendant or military agent, of whatsoever denomination, but to leave all the Tartars in the same perfect liberty and independence in which the Empire of Russia leaves them.

IV. It is conformable to the natural right of every Power to make, in its own country, such dispositions as it may consider to be expedient: in consequence whereof, there is respectively reserved to the two Empires a perfect and unrestricted liberty of constructing anew in their respective States, and within their frontiers, in such localities as shall be deemed advisable, every kind of fortresses, towns, habitations, edifices, and dwellings, as well as of repairing and rebuilding the old fortresses, towns, habitations, &c.

V. After the conclusion of this happy peace, and the renewal of a sincere and neighbourly friendship, the Imperial Court of Russia shall always have, henceforth, at the Sublime Porte, a Minister of the second rank, that is to say, an Envoy or Minister Plenipotentiary; the Sublime Porte shall show to him, in his official character, all the attentions and respect which are observed towards the Ministers of the most distinguished Powers; and upon all public occasions the said Minister shall immediately follow the Emperor's Minister, if he be of the same rank as the latter; but if he be of a different rank, that is to say, either superior or inferior, then the Russian Minister shall immediately follow the Ambassador of Holland, and, in his absence, that of Venice.

VI. If any individual in the actual service of the Russian Minister during his stay at the Sublime Porte, having been guilty of theft, or having committed any crime or act liable to punishment, should, for the purpose of escaping the penalty of the law, become Turk; although he cannot be prevented from so doing, yet after he has undergone the punishment he deserves, all the articles stolen shall be restored *in toto*, according to the specification of the Minister. But those who, being intoxicated, might be desirous of adopting the turban, must not be allowed so to do until after their fit of drunkenness is over, and they have come to their right senses; and even then, their final declaration shall not be taken, unless in the presence of an interpreter sent by the Minister, and of some Mussulman free from the suspicion of partiality.

VII. The Sublime Porte promises to protect constantly the Christian religion and its churches, and it also allows the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia to make, upon all occasions, representations, as well in favour of the new church at Constantinople, of which mention will be made in Article XIV., as on behalf of its officiating ministers, promising to take such representations into due consideration, as being made by a confidential functionary of a neighbouring and sincerely friendly Power.

VIII. The subjects of the Russian Empire, as well laymen as ecclesiastics, shall have full liberty and permission to visit the holy city of Jerusalem, and other places deserving of attention. No charatsch, contribution, duty, or other tax, shall be exacted from those pilgrims and travellers by any one whomsoever, either at Jerusalem or elsewhere, or on the road; but they shall be provided with such passports and firmans as are given to the subjects of the other friendly Powers. During their sojourn in the Ottoman Empire, they shall not suffer the least wrong or injury: but, on the contrary, shall be under the strictest protection of the laws.

IX. The interpreters attached to the Russian Ministers resident at Constantinople, of whatever nation they may be, being employed upon State affairs, and consequently in the service of both Empires, must be regarded and treated with every degree of kindness; and they shall be subjected to no ill-treatment on account of the business with which they may be entrusted by their principals.

X. If between the signing of these Articles of Peace and the orders which shall thereupon be dispatched by the Commanders of

the two respective armies, an engagement should anywhere take place, neither party shall be offended thereat, nor shall it be productive of any consequences, every acquisition made thereby being restored, and no advantage shall accrue therefrom to one party or the other.

XI. For the convenience and advantage of the two Empires, there shall be a free and unimpeded navigation for the merchant-ships belonging to the two Contracting Powers, in all the seas which wash their shores; the Sublime Porte grants to Russian merchant-vessels, namely, such as are universally employed by the other Powers for commerce and in the ports, a free passage from the Black Sea into the White Sea, and reciprocally from the White Sea into the Black Sea, as also the power of entering all the ports and harbours situated either on the sea-coasts, or in the passages and channels which join those seas. In like manner, the Sublime Porte allows Russian subjects to trade in its States by land as well as by water, and upon the Danube in their ships, in conformity with what has been specified above in this Article, with all the same privileges and advantages as are enjoyed in its States by the most friendly nations, whom the Sublime Porte favours most in trade, such as the French and the English; and the capitulations of those two nations and others shall, just as if they were here inserted word for word, serve as a rule, under all circumstances and in every place, for whatever concerns commerce as well as Russian merchants, who upon paying the same duties may import and export all kinds of goods, and disembark their merchandize at every port and harbour as well upon the Black as upon the other Seas, Constantinople being expressly included in the number.

While granting in the above manner to the respective subjects the freedom of commerce and navigation upon all waters without exception, the two Empires, at the same time, allow merchants to stop within their territories for as long a time as their affairs require, and promise them the same security and liberty as are enjoyed by the subjects of other friendly Courts. And in order to be consistent throughout, the Sublime Porte also allows the residence of Consuls and Vice-Consuls in every place where the Court of Russia may consider it expedient to establish them, and they shall be treated upon a perfect footing of equality with the Consuls of the other friendly Powers. It permits them to have interpreters called Baratli, that is, those who have patents, providing

them with Imperial patents, and causing them to enjoy the same prerogatives as those in the service of the said French, English, and other nations.

Similarly, Russia permits the subjects of the Sublime Porte to trade in its dominions, by sea and by land, with the same prerogatives and advantages as are enjoyed by the most friendly nations, and upon paying the accustomed duties. In case of accident happening to the vessels, the two Empires are bound respectively to render them the same assistance as is given in similar cases to other friendly nations; and all necessary things shall be furnished to them at the ordinary prices.

XII. When the Imperial Court of Russia shall have the intention of making any Commercial Treaty with the regencies of Africa, as Tripoli, Tunis, and Algiers, the Sublime Porte engages to employ its power and influence in order to accomplish the views of the above-named Court in this respect, and to guarantee, as regards those regencies, all the conditions which shall have been stipulated in those Treaties.

XIII. The Sublime promises to employ the sacred title of the Empress of all the Russias in all public acts and letters, as well as in all other cases, in the Turkish language, that is to say, "Temamen Roussielerin Padischag."

XIV. After the manner of the other Powers, permission is given to the High Court of Russia, in addition to the chapel built in the Minister's residence, to erect in one of the quarters of Galata, in the street called Bey Oglu, a public church of the Greek ritual, which shall always be under the protection of the Ministers of that Empire, and secure from all coercion and outrage.

XV. Although, according to the manner in which the boundaries of the two Contracting Powers are arranged, there is every reason to hope that the respective subjects shall no longer find any occasion for serious differences and disputes amongst themselves, nevertheless, at all events to guard against whatever might occasion a coolness or cause a misunderstanding, the two Empires mutually agree that all such cases of disagreement shall be investigated by the Governors and Commanders of the frontiers, or by Commissioners appointed for that purpose, who shall be bound, after making the necessary inquiries, to render justice where it is due, without the least loss of time: with the express condition that events of this nature shall never serve as a pretext

for the slightest alteration in the friendship and good feeling re-established by this Treaty.

XVI. The Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte the whole of Bessarabia, with the cities of Ackerman, Kilija, Ismail, together with the towns and villages, and all contained in that Province; in like manner it restores to it the fortress of Bender. Similarly the Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte the two Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, together with all the fortresses, cities, towns, villages, and all which they contain, and the Sublime Porte receives them upon the following conditions, solemnly promising to keep them religiously:

1. To observe, with respect to all the inhabitants of these Principalities, of whatever rank, dignity, state, calling, and extraction they may be, without the least exception, the absolute amnesty and eternal oblivion stipulated in Article I, of the Treaty, in favour of all those who shall have actually committed any crime, or who shall have been suspected of having had the intention of doing injury to the interests of the Sublime Porte, re-establishing them in their former dignities, ranks, and possessions, and restoring to them the property which they were in the enjoyment of previously to the present war.

2. To obstruct in no manner whatsoever the free exercise of the Christian religion, and to interpose no obstacle to the erection of new churches and to the repairing of the old ones, as has been done heretofore.

3. To restore to the convents and to other individuals the lands and possessions formerly belonging to them, which have been taken from them contrary to all justice, and which are situated in the environs of Brahilow, Choczim, Bender, &c., now called Rai.

4. To entertain for ecclesiastics the particular respect due to their calling.

5. To grant to families who shall be desirous to quit their country in order to establish themselves elsewhere, a free egress with all their property; and in order that such families may duly arrange their affairs, to allow them the term of one year for this free emigration from their country, reckoning from the day on which the present Treaty shall be exchanged.

6. Not to demand or exact any payment for old accounts, of whatever nature they may be.

7. Not to require from these people any contribution or payment for all the time of the duration of the war; and even, on account of the devastations to which they have been exposed, to relieve them from all taxes for the space of two years, reckoning from the day on which the present Treaty shall be exchanged.

8. At the expiration of the above-mentioned term, the Porte promises to treat them with all possible humanity and generosity in the monetary taxes which it shall impose upon them, and to receive them by means of deputies, who shall be sent to it every two years; and after the payment of these taxes, no Bacha, Governor, nor any other person whatsoever shall molest them, or exact from them any other payments or taxes of what description soever, but they shall possess all the advantages which they enjoyed during the reign of the late Sultan.

9. The Porte allows each of the Princes of these two States to have accredited to it a Chargé d'Affaires, selected from among the Christians of the Greek communion, who shall watch over the affairs of the said Principalities, be treated with kindness by the Porte, and who, notwithstanding their comparative want of importance, shall be considered as persons who enjoy the rights of nations, that is to say, who are protected from every kind of violence.

10. The Porte likewise permits that, according as the circumstances of these two Principalities may require, the Ministers of the Imperial Court of Russia resident at Constantinople may remonstrate in their favour; and promises to listen to them with all the attention which is due to friendly and respected Powers.

XVII. The Empire of Russia restores to the Sublime Porte all the islands of the Archipelago which are under its dependence; and the Sublime Porte, on its part, promises:

1. To observe religiously, with respect to the inhabitants of these islands, the conditions stipulated in Article I. concerning the general amnesty and the eternal oblivion of all crimes whatsoever, committed or suspected to have been committed to the prejudice of the interests of the Sublime Porte.

2. That the Christian religion shall not be exposed to the least oppression any more than its churches, and that no obstacle shall be opposed to the erection or repair of them; and also that the officiating ministers shall neither be oppressed nor insulted.

3. That there shall not be exacted from these islands any payment of the annual taxes to which they were subjected, namely,

since the time that they have been under the dependence of the Empire of Russia; and that, moreover, in consideration of the great losses which they have suffered during the war, they shall be exempt from any taxes for two years more, reckoning from the time of their restoration to the Sublime Porte.

4. To permit the families who might wish to quit their country, and establish themselves elsewhere free egress with their property; and in order that such families may arrange their affairs with all due convenience, the term of one year is allowed them for this free emigration, reckoning from the day of the exchange of the present Treaty.

5. In case the Russian fleet, at the time of its departure, which must take place within three months, reckoning from the day on which the Present Treaty is exchanged, should be in need of anything, the Sublime Porte promises to provide it, as far as possible, with all that may be necessary.

XVIII. The Castle of Kinburn, situated at the mouth of the Dnieper, with a proportionate district along the left bank of the Dnieper, and the corner which forms the desert between the Boug and the Dnieper, remains under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the Empire of Russia.

XIX. The fortresses of Jenicale and Kertsch, situated in the peninsula of Crimea, with their ports and all therein contained, and moreover with their districts, commencing from the Black Sea, and following the ancient frontier of Kertsch as far as the place called Bugak, and from Bugak ascending in a direct line as far as the Sea of Azow, shall remain under the full, perpetual, and incontestable dominion of the Empire of Russia.

XX. The city of Azow, with its district, and the boundaries laid down in the Conventions made in 1700, that is to say, in 1113, between the Governor Tolstoi and Hassan Bacha, Governor of Atschug, shall belong in perpetuity to the Empire of Russia.

XXI. The two Cabardes, namely, the Great and Little, on account of their proximity to the Tartars, are more nearly connected with the Khans of Crimea; for which reason it must remain with the Khan of Crimea to consent, in concert with his Council and the ancients of the Tartar nation, to these countries becoming subject to the Imperial Court of Russia.

XXII. The two Empires have agreed to annihilate and leave in an eternal oblivion all the Treaties and Conventions heretofore made between the Two States, including therein the Convention

of Belgrade, with all those subsequent to it; and never to put forth any claim grounded upon the said Conventions, excepting, however, the one made in 1700 between Governor Tolstoi and Hassan Bacha, Governor of Atschug, on the subject of the boundaries of the district of Azow and of the line of demarcation of the frontier of Kuban, which shall remain invariably such as it has heretofore been.

XXIII. The fortresses which are standing in a part of Georgia and of Mingrelia, as Bagdadgick, Kutatis, and Scheherban, conquered by the Russian armies, shall be considered by Russia as belonging to those on whom they were formerly dependent; so that if, in ancient times, or for a very long period, they have actually been under the dominion of the Sublime Porte, they shall be considered as belonging to it; and after the exchange of the present Treaty the Russian troops shall, at the time agreed upon, quit the said Provinces of Georgia and Mingrelia. On its part, the Sublime Porte engages, conformably to the contents of the present Article, to grant a general amnesty to all those in the said countries who, in the course of the present war, shall have offended it in any manner whatsoever. It renounces solemnly and for ever to exact tributes of children, male and female, and every other kind of tax. It engages to consider such of these people, only as its subjects as shall have belonged to it from all antiquity; to leave and restore all the castles and fortified places which have been under the dominion of the Georgians and Mingrelians, to their own exclusive custody and government; as also not to molest in any manner the religion, monasteries, and churches; not to hinder the repairing of dilapidated ones, nor the building of new ones; and it promises that these people shall not be oppressed on the part of the Governor of Tschildirsk, and other chiefs and officers, by exactions which despoil them of their property. But as the said people are subjects of the Sublime Porte, Russia must not, in future, intermeddle in any manner in their affairs, nor molest them in any way.

XXIV. Immediately upon the signing and confirmation of these Articles, all the Russian troops which are in Bulgaria on the right bank of the Danube shall withdraw, and within one month, reckoning from the day of the signature, they shall cross to the other side of the river. When all the troops shall have passed the Danube, the castle of Hirsow shall be delivered up to the Turks,

the said castle being evacuated to them when all the Russian troops shall have completely passed over to the left bank of that river. After which, the evacuation of Wallachia and Bessarabia shall be effected simultaneously, the term of two months being allowed for that operation. After all the Russian troops shall have quitted these two Provinces, the fortresses of Giurgewo and afterwards Brahilow, on the one side (of the river), and on the other, the town of Ismail and the fortresses of Kilia and Ackerman, shall be delivered up to the Turkish troops, from all which places the Russian garrisons shall withdraw for the purpose of following the other troops, so that for the complete evacuation of the said Provinces the term of three months shall be assigned. Lastly, the Imperial troops of Russia shall, two months afterwards, withdraw from Moldavia, and shall pass over to the left bank of the Dniester; thus, the evacuation of all the aforesaid countries shall be effected within five months, reckoning from the above-mentioned signing of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two contracting Empires. When all the Russian troops shall have passed to the left bank of the Dniester, the fortresses of Chotzum and of Bender shall be given up to the Turkish troops, upon this condition, however, that the castle of Kinburn, with the district belonging to it, and the desert situated between the Dnieper and the Boug, shall have been already restored in full, perpetual, and incontestable sovereignty to the Empire of Russia, conformably to Article XVIII. of the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the two Empires.

As to the islands of the Archipelago, they shall be left, as heretofore, under the legitimate dominion of the Ottoman Porte, by the fleet and the Imperial troops of Russia, as soon as the arrangements and peculiar necessities of the fleet shall permit, with regard to which it is not possible to assign here the precise time. And the Sublime Porte, in order to accelerate as much as possible the departure of the said fleet, already engages, as a friendly Power, to furnish it, as far as it can, with every necessary of which it may be in need.

During the stay of the Imperial troops of Russia in the Provinces to be restored to the Sublime Porte, the government and police shall remain there in the same vigour as at present and since the conquest, and the Porte must take no part whatever therein during the whole of this time, nor until the entire withdrawal of all the troops. Up to the last day of their quitting these countries,

the Russian troops shall be provided with all necessaries, as well provisions as other articles, in the same manner as they have hitherto been furnished with them.

The troops of the Sublime Porte must not enter the fortresses which shall be restored to it, nor shall that Power commence to exercise its authority in the countries which shall be given up to it, until at each place or country which shall have been evacuated by the Russian troops, the Commander of those troops shall have given notice thereof to the officer appointed for that purpose on the part of the Ottoman Porte.

The Russian troops may, at their pleasure, empty their magazines of ammunition and provisions which are in the fortresses, towns, and wherever else they may be, and they shall leave nothing in the fortresses restored to the Sublime Porte but such Turkish artillery as is actually found there. The inhabitants in all the countries restored to the Sublime Porte, of whatever state and condition they may be, and who are in the Imperial service of Russia, have the liberty, besides the term allowed of one year, as assigned in the Articles XVI. and XVII. of the Treaty of Peace, of quitting the country, and withdrawing with their families and property in the rear of the Russian troops; and conformably to the above-mentioned Articles, the Sublime Porte engages not to oppose their departure, neither then nor during the entire term of one year.

XXV. All the prisoners of war and slaves in the two Empires, men and women, of whatever rank and dignity they may be, with the exception of those who, in the Empire of Russia shall have voluntarily quitted Mahometanism in order to embrace the Christian religion, or in the Ottoman Empire shall have voluntarily abandoned Christianity in order to embrace the Mahometan faith, shall immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of this Treaty, and without any excuse whatever, be set at liberty on either side, and restored and delivered up without ransom or redemption money; in like manner, all the Christians fallen into slavery, such as Poles, Moldavians, Wallachians, Peloponnesians, inhabitants of the islands, and Georgians, all, without the least exception, must be set at liberty without ransom or redemption money. Similarly all Russian subjects who, since the conclusion of this happy peace, shall by any accident have fallen into slavery, and who shall be found in the Ottoman Empire, must be set at liberty and restored in like manner; all which the Empire of Russia

promises also to observe, on its part, towards the Ottoman Porte and its subjects.

XXVI. After having received in Crimea and in Oczakow intelligence of the signature of these Articles, the Commander of the Russian army in Crimea, and the Governor of Oczakow, must immediately communicate with each on the subject, and within two months after the signing of the Treaty send, respectively, persons duly accredited for effecting, on the one hand, the cession, and on the other the taking possession, of the Castle of Kinburn, with the desert, as stipulated in Article XVIII. above; and this the said Commissioners must absolutely effect within two months from the day of their meeting, in order that within four months, or even sooner, reckoning from the signing of the Treaty, the whole of this business be accomplished, and immediately after the said execution thereof, notice of the same shall be given to their Excellencies the Field-Marshal and the Grand Vizier.

XXVII. But in order that the present peace and sincere friendship between the two Empires be so much the more strongly and authentically sealed and confirmed, there shall be sent on both sides solemn and extraordinary Embassies with the Imperial ratifications signed, confirmatory of the Treaty of Peace, at such time as shall be agreed upon by both the High Contracting Parties. The Ambassadors shall be met on the frontiers in the same manner, and they shall be received and treated with the same honours and ceremonies as are observed in the respective Embassies between the Ottoman Porte and the most respectable Powers. And as a testimonial of friendship, there shall be mutually sent through the medium of the said Ambassadors presents which shall be proportionate to the dignity of their Imperial Majesties.

XXVIII. After these Articles of the perpetual peace shall have been signed by the said Plenipotentiaries, the Lieutenant-General Prince Repnin, and on the part of the Sublime Porte the Nischandgi Resmi Achmet Effendi and Ibrahim Munib Effendi, all hostilities are to cease between the principal as well as between the separate corps, both by land and by sea, so soon as orders to that effect shall have been received from the Commanders of the two armies. For this purpose, couriers must first of all be dispatched on the part of the Field-Marshal and the Grand Vizier into the Archipelago, to the fleet which is in the Black Sea, opposite to the Crimea, and to all the places where hostilities are being mutually carried on, in order that by virtue of the concluded

peace all warfare and hostile operations may cease and determine; and these couriers shall be provided with orders on the part of the Field-Marshal, and of the Grand Vizier, in such wise, that should the Russian courier arrive first at the quarters of the Commander to whom he is sent, he may, through his means, transmit to the Turkish Commander the orders of the Grand Vizier; and in like manner, if the courier of the latter should be the first to arrive, then the Turkish Commander may transmit to the Russian Commander the orders of the Field-Marshal.

And as the negotiation and accomplishment of this peace have been confided by the Sovereigns of the respective Empires to the care of the Commanders-in-chief of their armies, namely, the Field-Marshal Count Pierre de Roumanzow, and the Grand Vizier of the Sublime Porte, Mousson Zade Mechmet Bacha, the said Field-Marshal and Grand Vizier must, by virtue of the full power given to each of them by their Sovereigns, confirm all the said Articles of the perpetual peace as they are herein expressed, and with the same force as if they had been drawn up in their presence, sign them with the seal of their coat of arms, observe and faithfully and inviolably accomplish all that has been there stipulated and promised, do nothing, nor suffer anything whatsoever to be done in contravention of the said Treaty; and the copies, in every respect similar to the present one, signed by them, and having their seals attached, on the part of the Grand Vizier in the Turkish and Italian language, and on the part of the Field-Marshal in Russian and Italian, as well as the full-powers to them given by their Sovereigns, shall be respectively exchanged by the same persons above mentioned who have been sent, on the part of the Sublime Porte, to the Field-Marshal, within five days without fail, reckoning from the day of the signing of the present Treaty, and sooner if it be possible—it being, from this present time, determined that they shall receive the said copies from the Field-Marshal as soon as they shall have notified that those of the Grand Vizier have reached them.

This 10*th July* 1774.

(L.S.) Count Pierre de Roumanzow.
Prince Nicholas Repnin.

(L.S.) Mousson Zade Mechmet Bacha.
Resmi Achmet Effendi.
Ibraim Munib Effendi.

By an edict of the Empress of Russia dated the $\frac{12}{30}$ of March 1775, which fixes a thanksgiving-day to God for the establishment of Peace, it appears that the ratifications were exchanged at Constantinople on the $\frac{13}{24}$ of January 1775, between the Chargé d'Affaires of Russia, Colonel Peterson, and the Grand Vizier himself.

No. II.—*Treaty of Peace between Russia and the Ottoman Porte. Signed at Adrianople, September* 14, 1829.

In the name of Almighty God.

His Imperial Majesty the Very High and Very Powerful Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and His Highness the Very High and Very Powerful Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by an equal desire of putting an end to the calamities of war, and of re-establishing peace, friendship, and good harmony between their Empires, upon solid and immutable bases, have resolved, by mutual consent, to confide this salutary work to the care and management of their respective Plenipotentiaries; that is to say: His Imperial Majesty of all the Russias to the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Count de Diebitsch, &c., who, by virtue of the supreme full powers with which he is furnished, has delegated and nominated as Plenipotentiaries on the part of the Imperial Court of Russia, the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Count Alexis Orloff, &c., and Count Frederick Pahlen, &c.; and His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Mehemmed Sadik Effendi, Acting Grand Defterdar of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, and Abdoul-Kadir-Bey, Cazi-Asker of Anatolia; who, having assembled in the city of Adrianople, after having exchanged their full powers, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. All hostility and dissension which up to the present time have existed between the two Empires shall cease from the date hereof, as well by land as by sea, and there shall be perpetual peace, amity, and good intelligence between His Majesty the Emperor and Padisha of all the Russias, and His Highness the Emperor and Padisha of the Ottomans, their heirs and successors to the Throne, as well as between their respective Empires. The two High Contracting Powers will employ a special attention for preventing all that may cause the renewal of any misunderstanding

between their respective subjects. They will scrupulously fulfil all the conditions of the present Treaty of Peace, and will use all their vigilance to prevent its being contravened in any manner, either directly or indirectly.

II. His Majesty the Emperor and Padisha of all the Russias, desirous of giving His Highness the Emperor and Padisha of the Ottomans a proof of the sincerity of his amicable disposition, restores to the Sublime Porte the Principality of Moldavia, with the same limits which that Principality had before the commencement of the war which has just been terminated by the present Treaty. His Imperial Majesty likewise restores the Principality of Wallachia, the Banat of Crajova, without any exception whatsoever, Bulgaria and the country of Dobridgia, from the Danube as far as to the sea, together with Silistria, Hirchova, Matchin, Issactchi, Toultcha, Baba-dagh, Bazardjik, Varna, Pravadi, and other cities, towns, and villages which it contains, the whole extent of the Balkan from Emineh-Bournou as far as Kazan, and all the country from the Balkans as far as to the sea, together with Selimno, Ianboli, Aïdos, Carnabat, Messembria, Ahioli, Bourgas, Sizeboli, Kirk-Klissa, the city of Adrianople, Lulé-Bourgas, and lastly, all the cities, towns, and villages, and, in general, all the places which the Russian troops have occupied in Roumelia.

III. The Pruth shall continue to form the boundary of the two Empires, from the point where that river touches the territory of Moldavia as far as its confluence with the Danube. From this place the frontier line shall follow the course of the Danube as far as the embouchure of St. George, so that while leaving all the islands formed by the different branches of this river in the possession of Russia, the right bank will remain, as heretofore, in that of the Ottoman Porte. It is, nevertheless, agreed that this right bank, commencing from the point where the St. George branch separates from that of Souline, shall remain uninhabited, to the distance of two hours from the river, and that no establishment of any kind whatsoever shall be formed thereon, and that in like manner it shall not be permitted to make any establishment or construct any fortification upon the islands which shall remain in the possession of the Court of Russia, excepting always the quarantines which shall be thereon established. The merchant-vessels of the two Powers shall be competent to navigate the Danube throughout its whole course, and those which bear the Ottoman flag may freely enter the Kili and Souline embouchures, that of St. George remain-

ing common to the war and merchant flags of the two Contracting Powers. But the Russian ships of war must not, in sailing up the Danube, go beyond the place of its junction with the Pruth.

IV. Georgia, Imeritia, Mingrelia, Gouriel, and several other Provinces of the Caucasus, having been for a long time and in perpetuity annexed to the Empire of Russia, and this Empire having moreover acquired by the Treaty concluded with Persia at Tourkmantchaï, on the 10th of February 1828, the Khanates of Erivan and Naktchivan, the two High Contracting Powers have been convinced of the necessity of establishing between their respective States, throughout the whole of this line, a well-defined frontier and such as shall prevent all future misunderstanding. They have likewise taken into consideration the necessary means for opposing insurmountable obstacles to the incursions and depredations which, up to the present time, have been practised by the frontier tribes, and which have so often compromised the relations of amity and good fellowship between the two Empires. In consequence whereof it has been agreed to recognize henceforth for the frontier between the States of the Imperial Court of Russia and those of the Sublime Ottoman Porte in Asia, the line which, following the present boundary of the Province of Gouriel, from the Black Sea, ascends to that of Imeritia, and thence in the most direct line to the point where the frontiers of the Pashalics of Akhaltzik and of Kars unite with those of Georgia, leaving, in this manner, to the north and within this line the city of Akhaltzik and the fort of Akhalkhaliki, at a distance which must not be less than two hours. All the countries situated to the south and west of this line of demarcation towards the Pashalics of Kars and of Trebizond, together with the greater part of the Pashalic of Akhaltzik, shall remain in perpetuity under the dominion of the Sublime Porte, whilst those which are situated to the north and east of the said line, towards Georgia, Imeritia, and Gouriel, as well as the whole of the coast of the Black Sea, from the mouth of the Kouban as far as the port of St. Nicholas inclusively, shall remain in perpetuity under the dominion of the Empire of Russia. In consequence of which the Imperial Court of Russia gives up and restores to the Sublime Porte the remaining portion of the Pashalic of Akhaltzik, the city and the Pashalic of Kars, the city and the Pashalic of Bayazid, the city and the Pashalic of Erzeroum, as well as all the places occupied by the Russian troops, and which are situated without the above-mentioned line.

V. The Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia having been in consequence of a Capitulation placed under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte, and Russia having guaranteed their prosperity, it is understood that they shall preserve all the privileges and immunities which have been granted to them either by their Capitulations, or by the Treaties concluded between the two Empires, or by the hatti-cherifs promulgated at different times. In consequence whereof, they shall enjoy the free exercise of their worship, perfect security, an independent national government, and full liberty of commerce. The additional clauses to the preceding stipulations—clauses which are judged to be necessary in order to secure to these two Provinces the enjoyment of their rights—are consigned to the separate Act hereunto annexed (1), which is and shall be considered as forming an integral part of the present Treaty.

VI. The circumstances which have occurred since the conclusion of the Convention of Ackermann, not having allowed the Sublime Porte to occupy itself immediately with the carrying into execution the clauses of the separate Act relative to Servia, and annexed to Article V of the said Convention; it undertakes in the most solemn manner to fulfil them without the least delay, and with the most scrupulous exactitude, and to proceed especially to the immediate restitution of the six districts detached from Servia, so as to secure for ever the tranquillity and welfare of that faithful and devoted nation. The firman furnished with the hatti-cherif commanding the execution of the said clauses shall be delivered and officially communicated to the Imperial Court of Russia within the term of one month, reckoning from the signature of the present Treaty of Peace.

VII. Russian subjects shall enjoy, throughout the whole extent of the Ottoman Empire, as well by land as by sea, the full and entire freedom of trade secured to them by the Treaties concluded heretofore between the two High Contracting Powers. This freedom of trade shall not be molested in any way, nor shall it be fettered in any case, or under any pretext, by any prohibition or restriction whatsoever, nor in consequence of any regulation or measure, whether of public government or internal legislation. Russian subjects, ships, and merchandize, shall be protected from all violence and imposition. The first shall remain under the exclusive jurisdiction and control of the Russian Minister and Consuls; Russian ships shall never be subjected to any search

on the part of the Ottoman authorities, neither out at sea nor in any of the ports or road-steads under the dominion of the Sublime Porte; and all merchandize or goods belonging to a Russian subject may, after payment of the Custom-house dues imposed by the tariffs, be freely sold, deposited on land in the warehouses of the owner or consignee, or transshipped on board another vessel of any nation whatsoever, without the Russian subject being required, in this case, to give notice of the same to any of the local authorities, and much less to ask their permission so to do. It is expressly agreed that the different kinds of wheat coming from Russia shall partake of the same privileges, and that their free transit shall never, under any pretext, suffer the least difficulty or hindrance.

The Sublime Porte engages, moreover, to take especial care that the trade and navigation of the Black Sea particularly, shall be impeded in no manner whatsoever. For this purpose it admits and declares the passage of the Strait of Constantinople and that of the Dardanelles to be entirely free and open to Russian vessels under the merchant flag, laden or in ballast, whether they come from the Black Sea for the purpose of entering the Mediterranean, or whether, coming from the Mediterranean, they wish to enter the Black Sea: such vessels, provided they be merchant-ships, whatever their size and tonnage, shall be exposed to no hindrance or annoyance of any kind, as above provided. The two Courts shall agree upon the most fitting means for preventing all delay in issuing the necessary instructions. In virtue of the same principle, the passage of the Strait of Constantinople and of that of the Dardanelles is declared free and open to all the merchant-ships of Powers who are at peace with the Sublime Porte, whether going into the Russian ports of the Black Sea, or coming from them, laden or in ballast, upon the same conditions which are stipulated for vessels under the Russian flag.

Lastly, the Sublime Porte, recognizing in the Imperial Court of Russia the right of securing the necessary guarantees for this full freedom of trade and navigation in the Black Sea, declares solemnly, that on its part not the least obstacle shall ever, under any pretext whatsoever, be opposed to it. Above all, it promises never to allow itself henceforth to stop or detain vessels laden or in ballast, whether Russian or belonging to nations with whom the Ottoman Porte should not be in a state of declared war, which vessels shall be passing through the Strait of Constantinople and

that of the Dardanelles, on their way from the Black Sea into the Mediterranean, or from the Mediterranean into the Russian ports of the Black Sea. And if, which God forbid, any one of the stipulations contained in the present Article should be infringed, and the remonstrances of the Russian Minister thereupon should fail in obtaining a full and prompt redress, the Sublime Porte recognizes beforehand in the Imperial Court of Russia the right of considering such an infraction as an act of hostility, and of immediately having recourse to reprisals against the Ottoman Empire.

VIII. The arrangements formerly stipulated by Article VI. of the Convention of Ackermann, for the purpose of regulating and liquidating the claims of the respective subjects and merchants relatively to the indemnification for the losses incurred at various times since the war of 1806, not having been carried into execution, and the Russian trade having, since the conclusion of the aforesaid Convention of Ackermann, suffered fresh injury to a considerable extent, in consequence of the measures adopted with respect to the navigation of the Bosphorus, it is agreed and determined that the Sublime Porte, by way of reparation for these losses and injuries, shall pay to the Imperial Court of Russia, within the course of eighteen months, at periods which shall hereafter be agreed upon, the sum of 1,500,000 dūcats of Holland; so that the payment of this sum shall put an end to every reciprocal demand or claim of the two Contracting Powers, on the score of the circumstances above mentioned.

IX. The prolongation of the war to which the present Treaty of Peace happily puts an end, having occasioned the Imperial Court considerable expenses, the Sublime Porte acknowledges the necessity of offering it a suitable indemnification. Therefore, independently of the cession of a small portion of territory in Asia, stipulated in Article IV., which the Court of Russia consents to receive in part of the said indemnity, the Sublime Porte engages to pay it a sum of money, the amount of which shall be fixed by mutual agreement.

X. In declaring its entire adhesion to the stipulations of the Treaty concluded at London on the $\frac{24 \text{ June}}{6 \text{ July}}$, 1827, between Russia, Great Britain, and France, the Sublime Porte equally accedes to the Act entered into on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{0}{2}$ of March 1829, with common consent, between those same Powers upon the bases of the said Treaty, and containing the arrangements of detail relating to its definitive execution. Immediately after the exchange of the ratifications

of the present Treaty of Peace, the Sublime Porte will appoint Plenipotentiaries for the purpose of agreeing with those of the Imperial Court of Russia, and of the Courts of England and of France, upon the carrying into execution the said stipulation and arrangements.

XI. Immediately after the signing of the present Treaty of Peace between the two Empires, and the exchange of the ratifications of the two Sovereigns, the Sublime Porte shall take the necessary measures for the prompt and scrupulous execution of the stipulations contained therein, and especially of the Articles III. and IV., relative to the boundaries which are to separate the two Empires, as well in Europe as in Asia, and of the Articles V. and VI. concerning the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as Servia: and from the moment when these different Articles may be considered as having been executed, the Imperial Court of Russia will proceed to the evacuation of the territory of the Ottoman Empire, conformably to the principles established by a Separate Act (2), which forms an integral part of the present Treaty of Peace.

Until the complete evacuation of the countries occupied, the administration and order of things which are there now established under the influence of the Imperial Court of Russia, shall be maintained, nor can the Sublime Porte interfere therein in any manner whatsoever.

XII. Immediately after the signature of the present Treaty of Peace, orders shall be issued to the commanders of the respective forces, as well on land as on sea, to cease from all hostilities; such as shall have been committed after the signature of the present Treaty shall be considered as not having occurred, and shall produce no change in the stipulations therein contained. In like manner, whatever conquests which, during this interval, shall have been made by the troops of either of the High Contracting Powers, must be restored without the least delay.

XIII. The High Contracting Powers, upon re-establishing between themselves the relations of a sincere friendship, grant a general pardon and a full and complete amnesty to all such of their subjects, of whatever condition they may be, who, during the continuance of the war now happily terminated, shall have taken part in the military operations, or have shown, either by their conduct or their opinions, their attachment to one or other of two Contracting Powers. In consequence whereof, none of these

individuals shall be molested or prosecuted, either in person or property, on account of their past conduct, and each of them, recovering the landed property which he before possessed, shall have the peaceable enjoyment of the same, under the protection of the laws, or else shall be at liberty to dispose thereof within the space of eighteen months, in order to transfer himself, together with his family and his moveable property, into any country which he may select; and this without undergoing any molestation, or being opposed by any obstacle whatsoever.

There shall, moreover, be granted to the respective subjects, established in the countries restored to the Sublime Porte, or ceded to the Imperial Court of Russia, the same term of eighteen months, to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty of Peace, for the purpose, should they think fit so to do, of disposing of their landed property, acquired either before or since the war; and of retiring with their assets and their moveable property from the States of one of the Contracting Powers into those of the others, and reciprocally.

XIV. All the prisoners of war, of whatsoever nation, condition, and sex they may be, who are in the two Empires, must, immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty of Peace, be delivered up and restored without the least ransom or payment. Exception is made in favour of the Christians who, of their own free will, have embraced the Mahometan religion, in the States of the Sublime Porte, and of the Mahometans who, in like manner, of their own free will, have embraced the Christian religion in the States of the Empire of Russia.

The same shall be observed with respect to the Russian subjects, who, after the signing of the present Treaty of Peace, may have, in any manner, fallen into captivity, and who are in the States of the Sublime Porte. The Imperial Court of Russia promises, on its part, to act in the same manner towards the subjects of the Sublime Porte.

No reimbursement of the sums which have been expended by the High Contracting Powers for the maintenance of the prisoners of war shall be required. Each of them shall provide all that is necessary for them during their journey to the frontier, where they will be exchanged by Commissioners appointed respectively.

XV. All the Treaties, Conventions, and Stipulations, entered into and concluded at different epochs, between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Sublime Ottoman Porte, excepting the

Articles which have been modified or changed by the present Treaty of Peace, are confirmed in all their force and integrity, and the two High Contracting Powers engage to observe them religiously and inviolably.

XVI. The present Treaty of Peace shall be ratified by the two High Contracting Powers, and the exchange of the ratifications between the respective Plenipotentiaries shall be effected within the space of six weeks, or sooner if possible.

The present Document of Peace, containing sixteen Articles, and which shall be completed by the exchange of the respective ratifications, has been, in virtue of our full powers, signed and sealed by us, and exchanged against a similar one, signed by the undermentioned Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, and sealed with their seals.

Done at Adrianople the $\frac{2}{14}$ September 1829.

(L.S.) SADIK EFFENDI. (L.S.) COUNT ALEXIS ORLOFF.
(L.S.) ABDOUL KADIR BEY. (L.S.) COUNT F. PAHLEN.

No. III.—*Separate Acts annexed to the Treaty signed at Adrianople September* 14, 1829.

Separate Act (1) *relative to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia.*

In the name of Almighty God.

The two High Contracting Powers, at the same time that they confirm all that has been stipulated by the Separate Act of the Convention of Ackermann, relative to the mode of electing the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, have been convinced of the necessity of imparting to the Government of those Provinces a basis more stable and better adapted to the real interests of the two countries. For this purpose it has been definitively agreed upon and determined, that the duration of the government of the Hospodars should no longer be limited to seven years, as heretofore, but that they should henceforth be invested with that dignity for life, excepting in cases of voluntary abdication, or of deprivation by reason of criminality, foreseen by the said Separate Act.

The Hospodars shall have full liberty in the management of the internal affairs of their Provinces, after consulting their respective Divans; without, however, the power of injuring in any de-

gree the rights guaranteed to the two countries by Treaties or Hattisheriffs, and they shall not be disturbed in their internal administration by any order contrary to those rights.

The Sublime Porte promises and engages to take especial care that the privileges granted to Moldavia and Wallachia be not in any manner infringed upon by its officers commanding in the adjoining Provinces, and not to allow any interference on their part in the affairs of the two Provinces, as well as to prevent all inroads of the inhabitants of the right bank of the Danube upon the Wallachian or Moldavian territory.

All the islands belonging to the left bank of the Danube shall be considered as forming an integral part of this territory, and the stream (Thalweg) of this river shall form the boundary of the two Principalities, from its entrance into the Ottoman States as far as its confluence with the Pruth.

For the better securing the inviolability of the Moldavian and Wallachian territory, the Sublime Porte engages not to retain any fortified point, nor to allow any establishment whatsoever of its Mussulman subjects on the left bank of the Danube. In consequence whereof it is permanently ordained, that upon the whole of that bank in Great and Little Wallachia, as well as in Moldavia, no Mussulman can ever establish his residence, and that the only Mahometans who can be admitted therein are merchants provided with firmans, whose object in repairing thither is to purchase, on their own account in the Principalities, the goods necessary for the consumption of Constantinople, or other articles.

The Turkish towns situated upon the left bank of the Danube shall, as well as their territories (Rayahs), be restored to Wallachia, in order to be henceforward united to that Principality, and the fortifications heretofore standing upon that bank can never be rebuilt. Such Mussulmans as possess landed estates not unjustly obtained from private individuals, whether situated in these same towns, or upon any other point of the left bank of the Danube, shall be required to sell them to natives within the space of eighteen months.

The Government of the two Principalities, possessing all the privileges of an independent internal administration, is at liberty to establish sanitary cordons and quarantines along the course of the Danube, and elsewhere in the country where they shall be needed, without the strangers who arrive there, as well Mussulmans as Christians, being allowed to exempt themselves from the

exact observance of the sanitary regulations. For the quarantine service, as well as for watching over the security of the frontiers, for the maintenance of good order in the towns and country places, and for the execution of the laws and regulations, the Government of each Principality may keep in pay such a number of armed guards as shall be strictly necessary for these different duties. The number and maintenance of this militia shall be regulated by the Hospodars, in concert with their respective Divans, the examples of former times forming the bases of these arrangements.

The Sublime Porte, animated by the sincere desire of insuring to the two Principalities all the welfare of which they are susceptible, and being informed of the abuses and annoyances to which they were subjected on account of the supplies required for the consumption of Constantinople, the provisioning of the fortresses situated upon the Danube, and the requisitions of the arsenal, fully and entirely relinquishes in their favour its right in this respect. Wallachia and Moldavia shall, in consequence, be for ever dispensed from furnishing grains and other commodities, sheep, and building timber, all of which they were formerly required to supply. In like manner, these Provinces shall never be compelled, under any circumstances, to provide workmen for the erection of fortresses, nor for any other public works of whatever kind. But in order to indemnify the Imperial Treasury for the losses which this total cession of its rights might cause it, independently of the annual tribute which the two Principalities are bound to pay to the Sublime Porte, under the denominations of "haratch," "idige," and "kekiabiye" (according to the tenour of the hatti-sheriffs of 1802), Moldavia and Wallachia shall each pay annually to the Sublime Porte, by way of compensation, a sum of money, the amount of which shall be determined hereafter by common consent. Besides which, at each re-appointment of the Hospodars, whether in consequence of decease, abdication, or legal deprivation by the titularies, the Principality in which the circumstance shall have taken place shall be bound to pay to the Sublime Porte a sum equivalent to the annual tribute of the Province as fixed by the hatti-sheriffs. With the exception of these sums, there shall never be exacted from the country, nor from the Hospodars, any other tribute, contribution, or gift, under any pretext whatsoever.

By virtue of the abolishment of the supplies above mentioned,

the inhabitants of the two Principalities shall enjoy the full liberty of trade for all the productions of their soil and of their industry, stipulated by the Separate Act of the Convention of Ackermann, without any restrictions save those which the Hospodars, in concert with their respective Divans, may consider it expedient to establish, in order to insure the supply of provisions for the country. They may freely navigate the Danube with their own ships, provided with passports from their Government, and carry on trade in the other towns or ports of the Sublime Porte, without being molested by the collectors of the "haratch," or being exposed to any other annoyance.

Moreover, the Sublime Porte, considering all the calamities which Moldavia and Wallachia have had to undergo, and moved by an especial sentiment of benevolence, consents to exempt the inhabitants of these Provinces for the space of two years, reckoning from the day in which the Principalities shall have been entirely evacuated by the Russian troops, from the payment of the annual taxes paid into its treasury.

Lastly, the Sublime Porte, desirous of securing, by every means, the future prosperity of the two Principalities, solemnly promises to confirm the administrative regulations which, during the occupation of these two Provinces by the armies of the Imperial Court, have been made in consequence of the wish expressed by the assemblies of the most influential inhabitants of the country, and which shall, in future, serve as bases for the internal government of the two Provinces, with the full understanding, however, that the said regulations shall in no way compromise the rights of sovereignty of the Sublime Porte.

In consequence whereof we, the Undersigned, Plenipotentiaries of His Majesty the Emperor and Padisha of all the Russias, in concert with the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, have agreed upon and determined with respect to Moldavia and Wallachia the above dispositions, which are the sequel of Article V. of the Treaty of Peace concluded at Adrianople between ourselves and the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries. In pursuance of which the present Separate Act has been drawn up, subscribed by us, sealed with our seals, and delivered into the hands of the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte.

Done at Adrianople, the $\frac{2}{14}$ September 1829.

(L.S.) SADIK EFFENDI. (L.S.) COUNT ALEXIS ORLOFF.

(L.S.) ABDOUL KADIR BEY. (L.S.) COUNT F. PAHLEN.

Separate Act (2) relative to the Indemnifications for Losses in Trade, to those for the War Expenses, and to the Evacuation.

In the name of Almighty God.

As the peace so happily concluded between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Sublime Ottoman Porte must be maintained perpetually between the Two High Empires, it has been judged necessary, for the purpose of preventing every possible subject of dispute in future, to regulate, by a separate Act, all that relates to the indemnification for losses in trade, to those for the war expenses, and to the evacuation, by means of the following Articles:

ART. I. In one of the paragraphs of the Separate Act relative to the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and annexed to Article V. of the Treaty of Peace, it is stipulated that "the Turkish towns situated upon the left bank of the Danube shall, as well as their territories (Rayahs), be restored to Wallachia, in order to be henceforward united to that Principality, and that the fortifications heretofore standing upon that bank can never be rebuilt," &c.

In consequence of this stipulation, the fortress of Giurgevo, which is still occupied by the troops of the Sublime Porte, must be evacuated and delivered up to the Russian troops, and its fortifications demolished. This evacuation shall be effected within the space of fifteen days after the signing of the Treaty of Peace. The Turkish troops shall retire to Rustchuk, taking with them all the artillery, ammunition, their property and effects. In like manner, the Mussulman inhabitants shall be equally empowered to carry away with them their property and goods.

II. By Article VIII. of the Treaty of Peace, it is stipulated that "the Sublime Porte, by way of reparation for the losses and injuries suffered by Russian subjects and merchants at various times since the year 1806, shall pay to the Imperial Court of Russia, within the course of eighteen months, at periods which shall be assigned further down, the sum of 1,500,000 ducats of Holland."

In consequence of this stipulation it is agreed, that upon the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace, the Ottoman Porte shall pay 100,000 ducats; that within the term of six months after the exchange of the ratifications, it shall pay 400,000 ducats; that in the six months following it shall pay 500,000 ducats; and lastly, that in the other six months it shall pay the remaining

500,000 ducats, which will complete the entire payment of the said sum of 1,500,000 ducats within the term of eighteen months.

III. It is stipulated in Article IX. of the Treaty of Peace, that "the Sublime Porte engages to pay to the Imperial Court of Russia, by way of indemnification for the expenses of the war, a sum of money, the amount of which shall be fixed by mutual agreement."

In consequence of this stipulation, it is agreed and determined that the said indemnity shall be fixed at 10,000,000 of ducats of Holland, and the Sublime Porte promises to pay the said sum of money according to the mode of payment which shall be determined by his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, relying, as the Sublime Porte does, upon his generosity and magnanimity.

Moreover, in order to alleviate, as much as possible, the onus of this payment in specie, and to allow every facility necessary for that purpose, it is agreed that the Imperial Court of Russia shall consent to receive on account of the sum above mentioned, compensations in kind, in articles which shall, by mutual consent, be considered as receivable in part payment of the said indemnity.

IV. It is stipulated in Article XI. of the Treaty of Peace that "the Imperial Court of Russia will proceed to the evacuation of the territory of the Ottoman Empire, conformably to the principles established by a Separate Act which shall form an integral part of the Treaty of Peace."

In consequence of this stipulation it is agreed and determined, that as soon as the 100,000 ducats, in part payment of the stipulated indemnity for the losses of Russian subjects and merchants shall have been paid in the manner agreed upon above in Article II. of the present Separate Act; that as soon as Article VI. of the Treaty of Peace relative to Servia shall have been completely executed; and that the evacuation and delivery up of Giurgevo to the Russian troops shall have been effected in the manner specified above in Article I. of the present Act, then and within the term of one month after the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty of Peace, the Russian army shall evacuate the city of Adrianople, Kirk-Klissa, Lulé-Bougas, Midiah, and Iniada, and other places, which shall be immediately given up to the authorities empowered by the Ottoman Porte to receive them. Immediately after the payment of the 400,000 ducats of the said indemnity for the losses of Russian subjects and merchants shall have been exactly effected, that is to say, six months after the exchange of the ratifications, the Russian troops shall evacuate, within the space of one month

the whole extent of the country from the Balkan as far as the sea and the Gulf of Bourgas, so that all the cities, towns, and villages shall be delivered up to the authorities empowered by the Ottoman Porte to receive them, and the Russian troops shall retire and pass over on the other side of the Balkan into Bulgaria and the country of Dobridzia.

When the payment of the 500,000 ducats of the said indemnity for the losses of Russian subjects and merchants shall have been effected in the manner above specified, in the space of the other six months, then the Russian troops shall entirely evacuate and deliver up to the authorities of the Porte the whole of Bulgaria and the country of Dobridzia, with all the cities, towns, and villages therein comprised, from the Danube as far as the Black Sea.

The other remaining 500,000 ducats shall be paid within the term of other six months—that is to say, eighteen months after the exchange of the ratifications. And as to the evacuation above mentioned, the town of Silistria and the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia shall be exempted from it, and shall be kept as a security by the Imperial Court of Russia until the entire discharge of the sum which the Ottoman Porte has engaged itself to pay as an indemnification for the war expenses, as has been stipulated in Article III. of the present Act; so that immediately upon the full payment of the above sum, Moldavia, Wallachia, and the town of Silistria shall be evacuated within two months by the Russian troops, and be formally given up to the authorities of the Ottoman Porte.

With respect to the evacuation by the Russian troops of the countries which, on the Asiatic side, are to be restored to the Ottoman Porte, conformably to Article IV. of the Treaty of Peace, it is agreed that this evacuation shall commence three months after the exchange of the ratifications, and this shall be done by virtue of a particular Convention, which the General-in-chief, Count Paskewitch d'Erivan, shall conclude with the Commanders of the Ottoman Porte in those countries, in such manner, however, that the entire evacuation of the countries restored to the Ottoman Empire may be effected within the term of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications.

In consequence whereof, the present explanatory Act, consisting of four Articles, has been drawn up, signed by us, sealed with our seals, and delivered into the hands of the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Porte, and the ratifications of the same shall be ex-

changed, together with those of the Treaty of Peace, of which it forms an integral part.

Done at Adrianople, the $\frac{2}{14}$ September 1829.

(L.S.) Sadik Effendi. (L.S.) Count Alexis Orloff.
(L.S.) Abdoul Kadir Bey. (L.S.) Count F. Pahlen.

By virtue of supreme full powers I accept and confirm the conditions contained in the preceding Treaty and Separate Acts.

Count J. Diebitsch Zabalkansky.

No. IV.—*Treaty of Defensive Alliance (called that of Unkiar-Skelessi) between Russia and Turkey. Signed at Constantinople, July* 8, 1833.

In the name of Almighty God.

His Imperial Majesty, the Most High and Most Mighty Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and His Highness the Most High and Most Mighty Emperor of the Ottomans, being equally animated with the sincere desire of maintaining the system of peace and good harmony happily established between the two Empires, have resolved to extend and strengthen the perfect friendship and confidence which reign between them by the conclusion of a Treaty of Defensive Alliance.

Their Majesties have accordingly chosen and named as their Plenipotentiaries; that is to say, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Alexis Count Orloff, his Extraordinary Ambassador at the Sublime Ottoman Porte, and the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Apollinaire Boutèneff, his Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary at the Sublime Ottoman Porte, &c.;

And His Highness the Sultan of the Ottomans, the Most Illustrious and Most Excellent, the Most Ancient of his Viziers, Hosrew Mehemet Pasha, Seraskier, Commander-in-Chief of the Regular Troops of the Line, and Governor-General of Constantinople, &c., and the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Ferzi Akhmet Pacha, Mouchir and Commander of the Guard of His Highness, &c., and the Most Excellent and Most Honourable Hadgi Mehemet Akiff Reis Effendi, actual Reis Effendi, &c.;

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following Articles:

Art. I. There shall be for ever peace, amity and alliance between His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His

Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans, their empires and their subjects, as well by land as by sea. This alliance having solely for its object the common defence of their dominions against all attack, their Majesties engage to come to an unreserved understanding with each other upon all the matters which concern their respective tranquillity and safety, and to afford to each other mutually for this purpose substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance.

II. The Treaty of Peace concluded at Adrianople on the 2d of September 1829, as well as all the other Treaties comprised therein, as also the Convention signed at St. Petersburgh on the 14th of April 1830, and the arrangement relating to Greece, concluded at Constantinople on the 9th and 21st of July 1832, are fully confirmed by the present Treaty of Defensive Alliance, in the same manner as if the said transactions had been inserted in it word for word.

III. In consequence of the principle of conservation and mutual defence, which is the basis of the present Treaty of Alliance, and by reason of a most sincere desire of securing the permanence, maintenance and entire independence of the Sublime Porte, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in the event of circumstances occurring which should again determine the Sublime Porte to call for the naval and military assistance of Russia, although, if it please God, that case is by no means likely to happen, engages to furnish, by land and by sea, as many troops and forces as the two High Contracting Parties may deem necessary. It is accordingly agreed, that in this case the land and sea forces, whose aid the Sublime Porte may call for, shall be held at its disposal.

IV. In conformity with what is above stated, in the event of one of the two Powers requesting the assistance of the other, the expense only of provisioning the land and the sea forces which may be furnished, shall fall to the charge of the Power who shall have applied for the aid.

V. Although the two High Contracting Parties sincerely intend to maintain this engagement to the most distant period of time, yet, as it is possible that in process of time circumstances may require that some changes should be made in this Treaty, it has been agreed to fix its duration at eight years from the day of the exchange of the Imperial ratifications. The two parties, previously to the expiration of that term, will concert together,

according to the state of affairs at that time, as to the renewal of the said Treaty.

VI. The present Treaty of Defensive Alliance shall be ratified by the two High Contracting Parties, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at Constantinople within the space of two months, or sooner if possible.

The present instrument, consisting of six Articles, and to be finally completed by the exchange of the respective ratifications, having been agreed upon between us, we have signed it, and sealed it with our seals, in virtue of our full powers, and have delivered it to the Plenipotentiaries of the Sublime Ottoman Porte in exchange for a similar instrument.

Done at Constantinople, the $\frac{26 \text{ June}}{8 \text{ July}}$, 1833 (the 20th of the moon Safer, in the 1249th year of the Hegira).

CTE. ALEXIS ORLOFF.
A. BOUTENEFF.

Separate Article.

In virtue of one of the clauses of the first Article of the Patent Treaty of Defensive Alliance concluded between the Imperial Court of Russia and the Sublime Porte, the two High Contracting Parties are bound to afford to each other mutually substantial aid, and the most efficacious assistance for the safety of their respective dominions. Nevertheless, as His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to spare the Sublime Ottoman Porte the expense and inconvenience which might be occasioned to it by affording substantial aid, will not ask for that aid if circumstances should place the Sublime Porte under the obligation of furnishing it, the Sublime Ottoman Porte, in place of the aid which it is bound to furnish in case of need, according to the principle of reciprocity of the Patent Treaty, shall confine its action in favour of the Imperial Court of Russia to closing the Strait of the Dardanelles, that is to say, to not allowing any foreign vessels of war to enter therein under any pretext whatsoever.

The present Separate and Secret Article shall have the same force and value as if it was inserted word for word in the Treaty of Alliance of this day.

Done at Constantinople, the $\frac{26 \text{ June}}{8 \text{ July}}$, 1833 (the 20th of the moon of Safer, in the 1249th year of the Hegira).

CTE. ALEXIS ORLOFF.
A. BOUTENEFF.

No. V.—*Treaty between Russia and Turkey. Signed at St. Petersburgh, January* 29, 1834.

The Most High and Most Powerful Ottoman Emperor, my benefactor and master, on the one part, and the Most High and Most Magnanimous Emperor of all the Russias, on the other, animated by the desire with which they are inspired by the sincere friendship, cordiality, and confidence that happily subsist between them, to arrange definitively certain points of the Treaty concluded between the two High Powers at Adrianople, which have not been hitherto carried into execution, have named for this purpose as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say: His Majesty the Ottoman Emperor, his Excellency Mouchir Ahmed Pacha, Military Counsellor of the Seraglio, Ambassador Extraordinary of the Sublime Porte at the Imperial Court of Russia, &c.; and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, their Excellencies the Count Nesselrode, Vice-Chancellor of the Empire, and the Count Alexis Orloff, General of Cavalry, Aide-de-Camp of the Emperor, &c.; who, after having reciprocally exhibited their full powers, have agreed on the following Articles:—

Art. I. The two High Courts having deemed it necessary to establish, as has been stipulated in the Treaty of Adrianople, a line of demarcation between the two Empires in the East, such as may henceforth prevent every species of dispute and discussion, it has been agreed that a line shall be traced that shall completely prevent the depredations which the neighbouring tribes have been in the habit of committing, and which have more than once compromised the relations of neighbourhood and friendship between the two Empires. Therefore, after the Commissioners on both sides have examined the localities, and obtained the necessary information for this purpose, the two Contracting Parties have resolved to proceed to the settlement of the frontiers, in such manner that the object judiciously proposed in the Treaty of Adrianople should be completely fulfilled; and with that view they have adopted, by common consent, the line which may be seen traced in red on the map which is annexed to the present Treaty.

Conformably to the fourth Article of the Treaty of Adrianople, this line departs from Port St. Nicholas on the coast of the Black Sea, follows the existing frontiers of the Province of Guriel,

ascends up to the limits of Juira, thence traverses the Province of Akhiskha, and terminates at the point where the Provinces of Akhiskha and of Cars join the Province of Georgia. Thus the greatest part of the Province of Akhiskha remains, together with the other countries and territories referred to in the said Treaty, under the dominion of the Sublime Porte, as may be seen by the map, of which two copies have been made and compared by the Plenipotentiaries of the two Powers, and which, considered as forming part of the present Treaty, are to be annexed to it, as evidence of the manner in which the future limits of the two Empires have been settled.

After the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, and so soon as posts shall have been erected by the Commissioners named on both parts, according to the line traced on the map, from one side to the other, the Russian troops shall evacuate the territories situate beyond that line, and retire within the limits which it prescribes. So also the Mussulmans who inhabit the inconsiderable territories which are comprised within the line that passes in front of the district of Ghroubhan and the extremities of the districts of Ponskron and of Djildir, and who may wish to establish themselves within the territories of the Sublime Porte, shall be at liberty, within the term of eighteen months, from the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the Treaty, to settle the affairs which connected them with the country, and to remove to the Turkish States without molestation.

II. By the instrument executed separately at Adrianople relative to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, the Sublime Porte undertook to recognise formally the Regulations made, while the Russian troops occupied those Provinces, by the principal inhabitants for their internal administration; the Sublime Porte finding nothing in the Articles of that Constitution which can affect its rights of sovereignty, consents henceforth formally to recognise the said Constitution.

It engages to publish for that purpose a firman, accompanied by a hatti-sheriff, two months after the exchange of the ratifications, and to give a copy of the same to the Russian Mission at Constantinople.

After the formal recognition of the Constitution, the Hospodars of Wallachia and Moldavia shall be named, but for this time only, and as a special case, in the manner which was agreed upon some time since between the two Contracting Powers, and they

will proceed to govern the two Provinces conformably to the Constitution, which is a consequence of the stipulations above mentioned.

His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, wishing to afford a new proof of the esteem and consideration which he entertains towards His Highness, and to hasten the moment when the Sublime Porte shall exercise the rights which the Treaties secure to it over the two provinces, will order his troops, so soon as the Princes shall have been named, to retire from the two Provinces. This measure shall be executed two months after the nomination of the Princes. And as compensation is justly due for the advantages which the Sublime Porte grants in favour of the Wallachians and Moldavians, it is agreed and ordained that the annual tribute, which the two Provinces ought to pay according to the Treaties, shall be fixed henceforth at 6000 purses (that is to say, at 3,000,000 Turkish piastres); and the Princes shall take care that this sum be annually paid, counting from the 1st of January 1835.

It is agreed between the two Courts that the number of troops which shall be employed as garrisons in the interior of the two Provinces, shall be fixed in an invariable manner and at the pleasure of the Porte, which shall give colours to the garrisons and a flag to the Valacho-Moldavian merchant-vessels that navigate the Danube.

III. Agreeably to the desire manifested by His Highness to execute scrupulously the engagements which he has undertaken by the third Article of the explanatory and separate Act which is annexed to the Treaty of Adrianople, and by the Treaty of St. Petersburgh relative thereunto, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias has been pleased to afford to the Sublime Porte new facilities for the execution of the engagements contracted by the Acts above mentioned; and it is accordingly agreed:

1. That although it has been stipulated by the second Article of the Treaty of St. Petersburgh that the Sublime Porte shall pay annually and during eight years 1,000,000 Dutch ducats, it shall pay only 500,000 ducats per annum.

2. That the Sublime Porte shall no longer be obliged, as it has hitherto been, to pay in the month of May of each year, and at one time, the whole sum due for the year, and that it shall henceforth pay the 500,000 ducats by degrees; the entire sum being, however, paid within the interval between the month of May of one year and the month of May of the following year.

3. That His Imperial Majesty renounces his right to demand the difference, which existed at the period of each payment of the portion of the indemnities for the expenses of the war and for commerce, between the price at which the Sublime Porte paid the ducat in Turkish piastres, and the real value of the ducats.

4. That His Imperial Majesty, moreover, taking into consideration the embarrassments in which the Treasury of that Empire has been lately involved, consents to the immediate reduction of 2,000,000 ducats, which is one-third of the amount of the indemnities for the expenses of the war.

5. That considering the deduction above specified, and the other arrangements already mentioned, the sum total of the indemnities amounts to 4,000,000 Dutch ducats, of which the first portion, to be paid in one year, as one instalment, consists of 500,000 ducats, and shall be paid between the 1st of May 1834, and the 1st of May 1835, and the corresponding portions in the following years in the same manner, until the whole debt be discharged; but upon condition that the securities, guarantees, and facilities stipulated in Articles IV. V. VI. VII. and IX. of the Treaty of St. Petersburgh shall continue down to that period in all their force, as if they had been inserted word for word in the present Treaty.

In virtue of the powers which have been given to me, I have concluded the present Treaty, which shall be ratified by the Two Contracting Parties, and the ratifications of which shall be exchanged at Constantinople, within the term of six weeks, or sooner if possible; I have affixed to it my seal and signature; and I have delivered it to their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Court of Russia at St. Petersburgh, in exchange for the instrument which they have delivered to me.

Done the 18th Ramazan, 1249.

(L.S.) NESSELRODE. (L.S.) MOUCHIR AHMED PACHA.

(L.S.) ALEXIS ORLOFF.

No. VI.—*Convention between Russia and Turkey. Signed at Constantinople, March* 27, 1836.

The present Act serves to make known what follows:—

His Highness the Sultan having, as is required by the friendship and alliance which happily subsist between him and His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, and between their respective Go-

vernments, of his own and free action evinced the desire to pay at once the money which the Sublime Porte, by the Treaty concluded at St. Petersburgh on the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{7}{9}$ January 1834 of the Christian era, engaged to pay to the Russian Government, His Majesty the Emperor of Russia, in acceding to the desire of His Highness, has been pleased on this occasion to deduct 180,000 purses (90,000,000 Turkish piastres) of the debt due from the Sublime Porte, a debt which, after the reductions previously made and the sums already paid on account, still amounted to 340,000 purses; and, in consideration of the payment of 160,000 purses in specie, to regard the debt of the Sublime Porte as being quite extinct: thus giving a new proof of the esteem which he bears, and of the sentiments which he professes, for His Highness the Sultan, his friend and ally.

The Envoy of Russia residing near the Sublime Porte, having received the instructions and full powers necessary for treating, has brought the dispositions of the contemplated arrangement to the knowledge of the Sublime Porte, which has accepted them. Conferences have in consequence been held between the two Parties, who have agreed upon the following points:

ART. I. The above named sum of 160,000 purses, that is to say, 80,000,000 Turkish piastres, shall be paid by the Sublime Porte to the Imperial Court of Russia, in specie, within a delay which shall not exceed five months, reckoning from this day to the $\frac{1}{2}\frac{5}{7}$ August of the current year 1836, corresponding to the 9 Djemaziul-evvel of the year of the Hegira 1252.

II. In the space of fifteen days, reckoning from the date of the signature of this instrument, one instalment of 50,000 purses shall be paid; fifteen days later another instalment of 17,000 purses shall be paid; and at the end of two months, reckoning from this day of signature, the further sum of 33,000 purses shall be paid. The balance, which will consist of 60,000 purses, shall be paid by degrees in the course of the three following months. The money shall be consigned, as hitherto, into the hands of the Russian Mission at Constantinople.

III. When, by the grace of God, the above-mentioned sum of 160,000 purses shall have been entirely paid, the fortress of Silistria, which is temporarily occupied by the Imperial Russian troops, shall be entirely evacuated, and delivered over to the officer who shall have been charged by the Sublime Porte to take possession and have command of it on her part; and in the meantime preparations shall be made for its evacuation.

If the money in question can be paid within a shorter delay than that of the five months which has been fixed for effecting the payment, the evacuation of Silistria shall in that case take place, as has been agreed upon in the Conferences.

In virtue of the full powers received by his Excellency the Russian Envoy, on the part of His Imperial Majesty, and by me, on the part of the Sublime Porte, we have agreed upon the three points above recited, and have signed the present instrument, which establishes the happy result of the negotiations that have been entrusted to our care and to our zeal, and which is done in two originals, of which one is written in the Turkish language, and the other in the French language, the 9 Zilhidge, 1252 (27 March 1836.

(L.S.) BOUTENEFF. (L.S.) MEHEMED AKIF EFFENDI.

No. VII.—*Convention between Russia, Austria, Great Britain, and Prussia, and Turkey. Signed at London, July* 15, 1840.

In the name of the Most Merciful God.

His Highness the Sultan having addressed himself to their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, to ask their support and assistance in the difficulties in which he finds himself placed by reason of the hostile proceedings of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt—difficulties which threaten with danger the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the independence of the Sultan's throne,—their said Majesties, moved by the sincere friendship which subsists between them and the Sultan; animated by the desire of maintaining the integrity and independence of the Ottoman Empire as a security for the peace of Europe; faithful to the engagement which they contracted by the Collective Note presented to the Porte by their Representatives at Constantinople, on the 27th of July 1839; and desirous, moreover, to prevent the effusion of blood which would be occasioned by a continuance of the hostilities which have recently broken out in Syria between the authorities of the Pasha of Egypt and the subjects of the Sultan; their said Majesties and His Highness the Sultan have resolved, for the aforesaid purposes, to conclude together a Convention, and they have therefore named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say;

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Bri-

tain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member of Parliament, and Her Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Philip, Baron de Neumann, Commander of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Cross for Civil Merit, Commander of the Orders of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, of the Southern Cross of Brazil, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stanislaus of the second class of Russia, his Aulick Councillor, and his Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Henry William, Baron de Bulow, Knight of the order of the Red Eagle of the first class of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Orders of Leopold of Austria, and of the Guelphs of Hanover, Knight Grand Cross of the Orders of St. Stanislaus of the second class, and of St. Wladimir of the fourth class of Russia, Commander of the Order of the Falcon of Saxe-Weimar, his Chamberlain, Actual Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip, Baron de Brunnow, Knight of the Order of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, of St. Wladimir of the third, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle, and of St. John of Jerusalem, his Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Most Noble, Most Powerful, and Most Magnificent Sultan Abdul-Medjid, Emperor of the Ottomans, Chekib Effendi, decorated with the Nichan Iftihar of the first class, Beylikdgi of the Imperial Divan, Honorary Councillor of the Department for Foreign Affairs, his Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who, having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and signed the following Articles:—

ART. I. His Highness the Sultan having come to an agreement with their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the

Russias, as to the conditions of the arrangement which it is the intention of His Highness to grant to Mehemet Ali, conditions which are specified in the Separate Act hereunto annexed; their Majesties engage to act in perfect accord, and to unite their efforts in order to determine Mehemet Ali to conform to that arrangement; each of the High Contracting Parties reserving to itself to co-operate for that purpose, according to the means of action which each may have at his disposal.

II. If the Pasha of Egypt should refuse to accept the above-mentioned arrangement, which will be communicated to him by the Sultan, with the concurrence of their aforesaid Majesties; their Majesties engage to take, at the request of the Sultan, measures concerted and settled between them, in order to carry that arrangement into effect. In the meanwhile, the Sultan having requested his said Allies to unite with him in order to assist him to cut off the communication by sea between Egypt and Syria, and to prevent the transport of troops, horses, arms, and warlike stores of all kinds, from the one Province to the other; their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, engage to give immediately, to that effect, the necessary orders to their naval Commanders in the Mediterranean. Their said Majesties further engage that the naval Commanders of their squadrons shall, according to the means at their command, afford, in the name of the Alliance, all the support and assistance in their power to those subjects of the Sultan who may manifest their fidelity and allegiance to their Sovereign.

III. If Mehemet Ali, after having refused to submit to the conditions of the arrangement above mentioned, should direct his land or sea forces against Constantinople, the High Contracting Parties, upon the express demand of the Sultan, addressed to their Representatives at Constantinople, agree, in such case, to comply with the request of that Sovereign, and to provide for the defence of his throne by means of a co-operation agreed upon by mutual consent, for the purpose of placing the two Straits of the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, as well as the capital of the Ottoman Empire, in security against all aggression.

It is further agreed that the forces, which, in virtue of such concert may be sent as aforesaid, shall there remain so employed as long as their presence shall be required by the Sultan; and when His Highness shall deem their presence no longer necessary,

the said forces shall simultaneously withdraw, and shall return to the Black Sea and to the Mediterranean, respectively.

IV. It is, however, expressly understood that the co-operation mentioned in the preceding Article, and destined to place the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and the Ottoman capital, under the temporary safeguard of the High Contracting Parties against all aggression of Mehemet Ali, shall be considered only as a measure of exception adopted at the express demand of the Sultan, and solely for his defence in the single case above-mentioned; but it is agreed, that such measure shall not derogate in any degree from the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, in virtue of which it has in all times been prohibited for ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus. And the Sultan, on the one hand, hereby declares that, excepting the contingency above mentioned, it is his firm resolution to maintain in future this principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and as long as the Porte is at peace, to admit no foreign ship of war into the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles; on the other hand, their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform to the above-mentioned principle.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of two months, or sooner if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms. Done at London, the 15th day of July, in the year of Our Lord 1840.

(L.S.) PALMERSTON. (L.S.) CHEKIB.
(L.S.) NEUMANN.
(L.S.) BULOW.
(L.S.) BRUNNOW.

No. VIII.—*Separate Act annexed to the Convention signed at London on the 15th of July* 1840.

His Highness the Sultan intends to grant, and to cause to be notified to Mehemet Ali, the conditions of the arrangement hereinafter detailed:—

§ 1. His Highness promises to grant to Mehemet Ali, for him-

self and for his descendants in the direct line, the administration of the Pashalic of Egypt; and His Highness promises, moreover, to grant to Mehemet Ali, for his life, with the title of Pasha of Acre, and with the command of the Fortress of St. John of Acre, the administration of the southern part of Syria, the limits of which shall be determined by the following line of demarcation:

This line, beginning at Cape Ras-el-Nakhora, on the coast of the Mediterranean, shall extend direct from thence as far as the mouth of the River Seizaban, at the northern extremity of the Lake of Tiberias; it shall pass along the western shore of that Lake; it shall follow the right bank of the River Jordan, and the western shore of the Dead Sea; from thence it shall extend straight to the Red Sea, which it shall strike at the northern point of the Gulf of Akaba; and from thence it shall follow the western shore of the Gulf of Akaba, and the eastern shore of the Gulf of Suez, as far as Suez.

The Sultan, however, in making these offers, attaches thereto the condition, that Mehemet Ali shall accept them within the space of ten days after communication thereof shall have been made to him at Alexandria, by an Agent of His Highness; and that Mehemet Ali shall, at the same time, place in the hands of that Agent the necessary instructions to the Commanders of his sea and land forces, to withdraw immediately from Arabia, and from all the Holy Cities which are therein situated; from the Island of Candia; from the district of Adana; and from all other parts of the Ottoman Empire which are not comprised within the limits of Egypt, and within those of the Pashalic of Acre, as above defined.

§ 2. If within the space of ten days, fixed as above, Mehemet Ali should not accept the above-mentioned arrangement, the Sultan will then withdraw the offer of the life administration of the Pashalic of Acre; but His Highness will still consent to grant to Mehemet Ali, for himself and for his descendants in the direct line, the administration of the Pashalic of Egypt, provided such offer be accepted within the space of the ten days next following, that is to say, within a period of twenty days, to be reckoned from the day on which the communication shall have been made to him; and provided that in this case also, he places in the hands of the Agent of the Sultan the necessary instructions to his military and naval commanders to withdraw immediately within the limits, and into the ports of the Pashalic of Egypt.

§ 3. The annual tribute to be paid to the Sultan by Mehemet

Ali, shall be proportioned to the greater or less amount of territory of which the latter may obtain the administration, according as he accepts the first or the second alternative.

§ 4. It is, moreover, expressly understood that, in the first as in the second alternative, Mehemet Ali (before the expiration of the specified period of ten or of twenty days), shall be bound to deliver up the Turkish fleet, with the whole of its crews and equipments, into the hands of the Turkish agent who shall be charged to receive the same. The commanders of the allied squadrons shall be present at such delivery.

It is understood, that in no case can Mehemet Ali carry to account, or deduct from the tribute to be paid to the Sultan, the expenses which he has incurred in the maintenance of the Ottoman fleet, during any part of the time it shall have remained in the ports of Egypt.

§ 5. All the Treaties, and all the laws of the Ottoman Empire, shall be applicable to Egypt, and to the Pashalic of Acre, such as it has been above defined, in the same manner as to every other part of the Ottoman Empire. But the Sultan consents, that on condition of the regular payment of the tribute above mentioned, Mehemet Ali and his descendants shall collect, in the name of the Sultan, and as the delegate of His Highness, within the Provinces, the administration of which shall be confided to them, the taxes and imposts legally established. It is moreover understood that, in consideration of the receipt of the aforesaid taxes and imposts, Mehemet Ali and his descendants shall defray all the expenses of the civil and military administration of the said Provinces.

§ 6. The military and naval forces which may be maintained by the Pasha of Egypt and Acre, forming part of the forces of the Ottoman Empire, shall always be considered as maintained for the service of the State.

§ 7. If, at the expiration of the period of twenty days after the communication shall have been made to him (according to the stipulation of § 2), Mehemet Ali shall not accede to the proposed arrangement, and shall not accept the hereditary Pashalic of Egypt, the Sultan will consider himself at liberty to withdraw that offer, and to follow, in consequence, such ulterior course as his own interests and the counsels of his allies may suggest to him.

§ 8. The present separate Act shall have the same force and validity as if it were inserted, word for word, in the Convention

of this date. It shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at London at the same time as those of the said Convention.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the 15th day of July, in the year of Our Lord 1840.

(L.S.) PALMERSTON. (L.S.) CHEKIB.
(L.S.) NEUMANN.
(L.S.) BULOW.
(L.S.) BRUNNOW.

No. IX.—*Protocols signed at London the* 15*th of July and* 17*th of September* 1840, *by the Plenipotentiaries of Russia, Great Britain, Austria, and Prussia, and Turkey.*

Protocol (1) *signed at London, the* 15*th of July* 1840.

In affixing his signature to the Convention of this date, the Plenipotentiary of the Sublime Ottoman Porte declared:

That in recording by Article IV. of the said Convention the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, by virtue of which it has been at all times forbidden to foreign vessels of war to enter within the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, the Sublime Porte reserves to itself, as heretofore, to deliver passes to light vessels under flag of war, which may be employed according to custom for the service of the correspondence of the Legations of friendly Powers.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, took note of the above Declaration, for the purpose of communicating it to their respective Courts.

PALMERSTON. CHEKIB.
NEUMANN.
BULOW.
BRUNNOW.

Reserved Protocol (2) *signed at London on the* 15*th of July* 1840.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, Russia, and Turkey, having, in virtue of their full powers, concluded and signed this day a Convention between their respective Sovereigns, for the pacification of the Levant;

Considering that, in consequence of the distances which separate the capitals of their respective Courts, a certain space of time must necessarily elapse before the ratifications of the said Convention can be exchanged, and before orders founded thereupon can be carried into execution ;

And the said Plenipotentiaries being deeply impressed with the conviction, that by reason of the present state of things in Syria, the interests of humanity, as well as the grave considerations of European policy which constitute the object of the common solicitude of the Contracting Parties to the Convention of this day, imperiously require that, as far as possible, all delay should be avoided in the accomplishment of the pacification which the said Convention is intended to effect ;

The said Plenipotentiaries, in virtue of their full powers, have agreed that the preliminary measures mentioned in Article II. of the said Convention, shall be carried into execution at once, without waiting for the exchange of the ratifications ; the respective Plenipotentiaries recording formally, by the present Instrument, the consent of their Courts to the immediate execution of these measures.

It is moreover agreed between the said Plenipotentiaries, that His Highness the Sultan will proceed immediately to address to Mehemet Ali the communication and offers specified in the Separate Act annexed to the Convention of this day.

It is further agreed that the Consular Agents of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, at Alexandria, shall place themselves in communication with the Agent whom His Highness may send thither to communicate to Mehemet Ali the above-mentioned offers ; that the said Consuls shall afford to that Agent all the assistance and support in their power ; and shall use all their means of influence with Mehemet Ali, in order to persuade him to accept the arrangement which will be proposed to him by order of His Highness the Sultan.

The Admirals of the respective squadrons in the Mediterranean shall be instructed to place themselves in communication with the said Consuls on this subject.

PALMERSTON. CHEKIB.
NEUMANN.
BULOW.
BRUNNOW.

Protocol (3) *of a Conference, signed at London the* 17*th of September* 1840.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts of Great Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia, after having exchanged the ratifications of the Convention concluded on the 15th of July last, have resolved, in order to place in its true light the disinterestedness which has guided their Courts in the conclusion of that Act, to declare formally:

That in the execution of the engagements resulting to the Contracting Powers from the above-mentioned Convention, those Powers will seek no augmentation of territory, no exclusive influence, no commercial advantage for their subjects, which those of every other nation may not equally obtain.

The Plenipotentiaries of the Courts above mentioned have resolved to record this Declaration in the present Protocol.

The Plenipotentiary of the Ottoman Porte, in paying a just tribute to the good faith and disinterested policy of the allied Courts, has taken cognizance of the Declaration contained in the present Protocol, and has undertaken to transmit it to his Court.

PALMERSTON. CHEKIB.
NEUMANN.
SCHLEINITZ.
BRUNNOW.

No. X. — *Convention between Russia, Austria, Great Britain, France, and Prussia, and Turkey. Signed at London July* 13, 1841.

In the name of the Most Merciful God.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, being persuaded that their union and their agreement offer to Europe the most certain pledge for the preservation of the general peace, the constant object of their solicitude; and their said Majesties being desirous of testifying this agreement, by giving to the Sultan a manifest proof of the respect which they entertain for the inviolability of his sovereign rights, as well as of their sincere desire to see consolidated the repose of his Empire; their said Majesties have resolved to com-

ply with the invitation of His Highness the Sultan, in order to record in common, by a formal Act, their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire, according to which the passage of the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus is always to be closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace.

Their said Majesties, on the one part, and His Highness the Sultan, on the other part, having resolved to conclude between them a Convention on this subject, have named for that purpose as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say;

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Right Honourable Henry John, Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, a Member of the Parliament of the United Kingdom, and Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Sieur Paul, Prince Esterhazy of Galantha, Count of Edelstett, Knight of the Golden Fleece, Grand Cross of the Royal Order of St. Stephen, Knight of the Orders of St. Andrew, St. Alexander Newsky, and St. Anne of the first class, Knight of the Order of the Black Eagle, Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and of the Orders of the Guelphs of Hanover, of St. Ferdinand and Merit of Sicily, and of Christ of Portugal, Chamberlain, Actual Privy Councillor of His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, and his Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to her Britannic Majesty;—and the Sieur Philip, Baron de Neumann, Commander of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Cross for Civil Merit, Commander of the Orders of the Tower and Sword of Portugal, of the Southern Cross of Brazil, Knight Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stanislaus of the first class of Russia, Aulick Councillor, and his Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the King of the French, the Sieur Francis Adolphus, Baron de Bourqueney, Commander of the Royal Order of the Legion of Honour, Master of Requests in his Council of State, his Chargé d'Affaires and Plenipotentiary at London;

His Majesty the King of Prussia, the Sieur Henry William, Baron de Bülow, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of the first class of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Orders of Leopold of Austria, of St. Anne of Russia, and of the Guelphs of Hanover, Knight of

the Orders of St. Stanislaus of the second class, and of St. Wladimir of the fourth class, of Russia, Commander of the White Falcon of Saxe-Weimar, his Chamberlain, Actual Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, the Sieur Philip, Baron de Brunnow, Knight of the order of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, of St. Wladimir of the third, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle, and of St. John of Jerusalem, his Privy Councillor, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Her Britannic Majesty;

And His Majesty the Most Majestic, Most Powerful, and Most Magnificent Sultan Abdul Medjid, Emperor of the Ottomans, Chekib Effendi, decorated with the Nichan Iftihar of the first class, Beylikdgi of the Imperial Divan, Honorary Councillor of the Department for Foreign Affairs, his Ambassador Extraordinary to Her Britannic Majesty;

Who having reciprocally communicated to each other their full powers, found to be in good and due form, have agreed upon and signed the following Articles:

Art. I. His Highness the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his Empire, and in virtue of which it has at all times been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign Powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus; and that so long as the Porte is at peace, His Highness will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits.

And their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, King of Hungary and Bohemia, the King of the French, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of all the Russias, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the Sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

II. It is understood that in recording the inviolability of the ancient rule of the Ottoman Empire mentioned in the preceding Article, the Sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed as is usual in the service of the Missions of foreign Powers.

III. His Highness the Sultan reserves to himself to communicate the present Convention to all the Powers with whom the Sublime Porte is in relations of friendship, inviting them to accede thereto.

IV. The present Convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications thereof shall be exchanged at London at the expiration of two months, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and having affixed thereto the seals of their arms.

Done at London, the 13th day of July, in the year of Our Lord 1841.

(L.S.) PALMERSTON. (L.S.) CHEKIB.
(L.S.) ESTERHAZY.
(L.S.) NEUMANN.
(L.S.) BOURQUENEY.
(L.S.) BULOW.
(L.S.) BRUNNOW.

No. XI.—*Act between Russia and Turkey. Signed at Balta-Liman May* 1, 1849.

His Imperial Majesty the Most High and Most Mighty Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, and His Imperial Majesty the Most High and Most Mighty Emperor and Padishah of the Ottomans, animated by an equal solicitude for the well-being of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, and faithful to the antecedent engagements which secure to the said Principalities the privilege of a distinct administration and certain other local immunities, have recognised that in consequence of the commotions by which those Provinces, and more particularly Wallachia, have been agitated, it becomes necessary to adopt by common agreement extraordinary and effectual measures for the protection of those immunities and privileges, either against revolutionary and anarchical convulsions, or against the abuses of power which paralyzed the execution of the laws therein, and deprived the peaceable inhabitants of the benefits of the administration which the two Principalities ought to enjoy in virtue of the Solemn Treaties concluded between Russia and the Sublime Porte.

For this purpose we, the Undersigned, by order and by the express authorization of His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias,

and His Highness Reshid Pasha, Grand Vizier, and his Excellency Aali Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sublime Ottoman Porte, by order and by the express authorization of His Majesty the Sultan, after having duly communicated and concerted together, have agreed upon and concluded the following Articles :—

ART. I. Considering the exceptional circumstances brought on by the recent events, the two Imperial Courts have agreed, that instead of following the mode established by the regulation of 1831 for the election of the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, those high functionaries shall be nominated by His Majesty the Sultan according to a mode especially agreed upon for this occasion between the two Courts, with the view of confiding the administration of those Provinces to the candidates most worthy, and enjoying the best reputation among their fellow-countrymen. For this occasion, likewise, the two Hospodars shall only be nominated for seven years, the two Courts reserving to themselves, a year before the expiration of the term fixed for the present agreement, to take into consideration the internal state of the Principalities, and the services which may have been rendered by the two Hospodars, in order, by mutual agreement, to consider of the further determinations to be taken.

II. The Organic Statute granted to the Principalities in 1831 shall remain in force, saving the alterations and modifications of which the necessity shall have been proved by experience, specifically in regard to the ordinary and extraordinary assemblies of the Boyards. These assemblies, in the form in which they have heretofore been composed and elected, having more than once given rise to deplorable conflicts, and even to acts of open insubordination, their convocation shall continue to be suspended, and the two Courts reserve to themselves to come to an understanding on the subject of their re-establishment on bases settled with all requisite deliberation, at the time when they shall judge that that measure can be carried into effect without inconvenience as regards the maintenance of public tranquillity in the two Principalities. The deliberative functions shall be provisionally entrusted to Councils or Divans *ad hoc*, composed of the Boyards who are the most notable and the most worthy of confidence, and of some members of the higher clergy. The principal attributes of these Councils shall be the assessment of the taxes, and the examination into the yearly budget in the two Provinces.

III. In order to proceed with all necessary deliberation to the organic improvements required by the actual state of the Principalities and the administrative abuses which have been introduced there, two Commissions of Revision shall be established, one at Jassy and the other at Bucharest, composed of the Boyards most commendable from their character and abilities, to whom shall be entrusted the task of revising the existing regulations and of pointing out the modifications best calculated to confer upon the administration of the country the regularity and unity in which they have frequently been deficient.

The work of these Commissions shall be submitted with the shortest delay possible to the examination of the Ottoman Government, which, after having come to an understanding with the Court of Russia thereupon, and having thus proved their mutual approbation, shall grant to the said modifications its definitive sanction, which shall be published in the usual manner by a hatti-sherif of His Majesty the Sultan.

IV. The troubles which have so deeply disturbed the Principalities having demonstrated the necessity of affording to their Governments the support of a military force capable of promptly repressing every insurrectional movement, and of causing the established authorities to be respected, the two Imperial Courts have agreed to prolong the presence of a certain portion of the Russian and Ottoman troops which at present occupy the country; and specifically, in order to preserve the frontiers of Wallachia and of Moldavia from casualties from abroad, it has been determined to leave therein, for the time, from 25,000 to 35,000 men of each of the two parties. After the tranquillity of the said frontiers shall be re-established, there shall remain in the two countries about 10,000 men on each side, until the completion of the work of the organic improvement and the consolidation of the internal tranquillity of the two Provinces. Thereupon the troops of the two Powers shall completely evacuate the Principalities, but they shall still remain at hand to re-enter immediately, in case the occurrence of serious events in the Principalities should require that measure to be again adopted. Independently of that, provision shall be made for completing without delay the re-organization of the native militia, so that by its discipline and efficiency it may afford a sufficient guarantee for the maintenance of legal order.

V. Pending the duration of the occupation, the two Courts shall continue to cause an Extraordinary Russian Commissioner and an Extraordinary Ottoman Commissioner to reside in the

Principalities. These special agents will be commissioned to watch over the progress of affairs, and to offer in common to the Hospodars their advice and counsel whensoever they shall observe any serious abuses or any measure prejudicial to the tranquillity of the country. The said Extraordinary Commissioners shall be furnished with identic instructions agreed upon between the two Courts, which shall prescribe to them their duties and the degree of interference which they will have to exercise in the affairs of the Principalities. The two Commissioners will likewise have to agree together upon the choice of the members of the Commissions of Revision to be established in the Principalities, as has been stated in Article III. They will give an account to the respective Courts of the work of those Commissions, adding thereto their own observations.

VI. The duration of the present arrangement is fixed at seven years, at the expiration of which the two Courts reserve to themselves to take into consideration the situation in which the Principalities may then be, and to determine upon the ulterior measures which they may judge most suitable and proper to insure for a long time hereafter the well-being and the tranquillity of those Provinces.

VII. It is understood that by the present Instrument, occasioned by exceptional circumstances, and concluded for a limited time, none of the stipulations existing between the two Courts in regard to the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia are set aside, and that all previous Treaties confirmed by the Separate Act of the Treaty of Adrianople retain their full force and effect.

The seven preceding Articles having been agreed upon and concluded, our signature and the seal of our arms have been affixed to the present Instrument, which is delivered to the Sublime Porte, in exchange for that delivered to us by His Highness the Grand Vizier and his Excellency the Minister for Foreign Affairs aforesaid.

Done at Balta Liman $\frac{\text{April } 10}{\text{May } 1}$, 1849 (and of the Hegira, the 8th Djemasi-ul-Akhir, 1265).

(L.S.) RESHID PASHA.

(L.S.) AALI PASHA.

(L.S.) VLADIMIR TITOFF,

Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia at the Sublime Ottoman Porte.

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